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EDITORIAL

THE POWERS THAT WILL BE

This Administration has sought to blur completely the question of Presidential responsibility. The White House image makers have transformed Ronald Reagan into a protean symbol rather than an accountable official. He takes credit for actions he had nothing to do with and avoids blame for bad results when he was clearly in charge.

Take President José Napoleón Duarte's offer to negotiate with the Salvadoran guerrillas. Reagan embraced the initiative as his own, even though his policies have favored a military solution in the region. In fact, the probability is that Duarte met with the rebels now because he knows that election politics prevent Jeane Kirkpatrick and other Administration hardliners behind the scenes from vetoing the talks.

And as Patrick J. Sloyan reports on page 410, last year the President kept the marines in Beirut in the face of warnings from his top military and intelligence advisers that there was danger. By shrewdly accepting the responsibility—but not the blame—he prevented a trial of the officers responsible for the lax security precautions, thus avoiding revelations of higher culpability. Recently he employed the bureaucratic dodge of denying that a formal recommendation for withdrawal of the troops was put before him.

Thus, the policies of the anti-Soviet hardliners prevailed in Lebanon, with tragic results. The Presidential insulation from reality described by Sloyan represents, in microcosm, what has happened under this Administration—and shows what will happen during the next four years if the President is re-elected. The hardliners will run things while Reagan perches on a safe limb above it all, taking credit, evading blame, covering for them: an incorporeal smile, like the Cheshire cat.

CRIME BILL
Diana R. Gordon

BEIRUT BOMBING
Patrick J. Sloyan

REAGAN'S READING
Ronnie Dugger

CALIFORNIA PROPOSITIONS
Mary Ellen Leary

GARRY TRUDEAU
Robert Grossman

HOLLYWOOD COUNTRY
Andrew Kopkind

WAR AND PEACE ISSUES

WHERE THE CANDIDATES REALLY STAND

Words spoken in the heat of a Presidential debate tend to be either over- or underreported the morning after, and the candidates themselves often obfuscate or downplay their more abiding views to score a rhetorical knockdown. Therefore, in view of the importance of the issues discussed in the Reagan-Mondale colloquy of October 21, we asked Michael T. Klare, our defense correspondent, to sift through the long-term records of both men and compile a substantive scorecard of where they stand on national security issues. Herewith his report.

—The Editors

MICHAEL T. KLARE

Given the present political climate, there are limits on what either candidate, once in office, could achieve in the area of national security. Reagan could not move much further toward total military superiority over the Russians without alienating America's European allies and seriously threatening the prospects for a sustained economic recovery. Mondale could not cancel too many weapons programs without alienating major Democratic constituencies in regions whose industries are heavily dependent on defense spending. Realistically, neither man could radically alter the existing military establishment, whether in the direction of full-scale expansion or genuine disarmament.

With this in mind, we can identify the key areas in which the candidates hold relatively similar positions:

§ *High-tech conventional weapons.* Both Reagan and Mondale would proceed with the development of "emerging technologies" (E.T.)

(Continued on Page 418)

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LETTERS.

AMERICAN 'REALPOLITIK'

New Canaan, Conn.

In the final phrase of their October 6 article, "Why Mondale Turned Right," Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers sum up why those of us who have had some experience in practical politics are quadrennially dismayed by the nitpickers and purists who contribute, at times significantly, to the election of the candidate all of us—centrists, leftists, purists or compromisers—most oppose.

"Voters are increasingly faced not with a choice but only with another echo in the 1984 election," they declare.

What nonsense; and how often have I heard those or very similar words uttered over the years in campaigns in which I've been directly or peripherally involved.

In 1960, the Stevensonians sat on their hands until mid-September, when Adlai himself went out and in six weeks made more than seventy-five speeches in fourteen states on John Kennedy's behalf. (I accompanied him, so I know the effort he put in.) Had he not, his loyalists, unsure of Kennedy's liberal credentials, were ready to acquiesce in a Nixon victory.

In 1968, I remember asking Gene McCarthy in October when he was going to crank up his followers for Humphrey. "Oh, when I feel ready," he replied languidly. So he parked his gypsy caravan on the side of the road and watched a good man fail to overtake Richard Nixon by less than one percentage point of the popular vote. The result: four more years of Vietnam and six more of Nixon, ending with Watergate.

In 1972, the purists nominated their candidate, George McGovern, and counted naïvely on the seemingly aroused youth of America to elect him. But the young disappeared after the convention hoopla and were either tossing frisbees or smoking grass on Election Day. And another decent man lost to Nixon.

Jimmy Carter, too, flawed in some ways but greatly underrated (if you look at his record) was assailed by the Kennedyites for his relative conservatism. He lost in 1980 chiefly because of Iran, stay-at-home "liberals" and John Anderson's noble political eccentrics.

Why Mondale Turned Right. What does "right" mean anymore? Or "left"? These are emotional buzzwords that have become increasingly imprecise since they were first used, during the French Revolution, when the Girondists and Jacobins sat on opposite sides of the Jeu de Paume building.

The issue today is plain. We have a fossilized, folksy, make-believe President running against a good man, certainly a real man, imperfect, no doubt, but still deserving of the support of all Democrats, of whatever hue. And he can still win. But the hour is late, and there is work to do. *William Attwood*

FERGUSON AND ROGERS REPLY

New York City

There they go again. Raise any question about the Democrats, and some cold war liberal is sure to attack you for giving aid and comfort to Republican creatures from the black lagoon. In Attwood's case this attack appeals to "experience in practical politics" with "Adlai" and "Gene" and others. But that makes it no less ridiculous. Of course there are differences between Reagan and Mondale. All we said was that Mondale's campaign was muting those differences. We did observe that Mondale had moved right. But how would Attwood describe Mondale's decision to de-emphasize jobs and nonintervention and choose James Schlesinger and Max Kampelman as foreign policy advisers? A move to the left? Mondale has himself declared that America needs leaders, not cheerleaders. The same holds for the Democratic Party. *Thomas Ferguson*
Joel Rogers

A WASTED OPPORTUNITY

Richmond

While a few of its points were on target, Eve Ottenberg's review of *America's Housing Crisis* ["Gimme Shelter," September 15] was essentially a wasted opportunity to bring the housing crisis to the pages of *The Nation*.

The housing situation in America is undergoing several catastrophic changes, including the attempted annihilation of most housing programs and the overturning of the housing credit system. While Ottenberg referred to the current rapid changes, she dwelt almost entirely on the rising cost of homeownership, which is a symptom of the crisis and not the most severe problem.

Housing issues have been stimulating grassroots action in almost every city and in many rural areas nationwide. . . .

Ottenberg's review, while praising the book, conveys neither the nature of the crisis nor the nature of the growing response. The book conveys only some of it, and Ottenberg justly notes that like so much writing on housing infected by the plague of H.U.D.-speak, the book is often "unreadable" and written in "insider's lingo." However, the book does focus on those who are bearing the brunt of the housing crisis: poor tenants. For most of them, homeownership and federally subsidized housing are completely out of reach, so Ottenberg's lengthy comments on homeownership are irrelevant.

America's Housing Crisis also serves as a kind of intellectual flagship for the national low-income housing movement (especially as embodied in the National Low-Income Housing Coalition). One of the vital "advocacy" movements that emerged in the 1970s to influence policy in Washington, it is currently trying to grow into a genuinely national campaign. Ottenberg is unaware of this, as shown most clearly by her error of ascribing the wrong gender to its most respected leader, Ms. Cushing Dolbeare. . . .

America's housing crisis—the situation as well as the book—needs critical evaluation of the kind *The Nation* has given to voting rights or agricultural land issues. . . .

Larry L. Yates

CHEAP HOUSING & OTHER DREAMS

New York City

It is startling to see how staggeringly wrongly Eve Ottenberg interprets the major themes of *America's Housing Crisis*. As a result, *Nation* readers were not only warned away from an important and very readable book but also misinformed about the ideas and outlook of the country's best progressive housing analysts and activists.

Most grievous among a number of misreadings is Ottenberg's dismissal of longtime National Low-Income Housing Coalition director Cushing Dolbeare's research on homeowner tax deductions as "a rhetorical trope." Nothing could be further from the truth. Dolbeare's groundbreaking research on the mortgage tax deduction is being widely studied and used by advocates of affordable housing throughout the country. Dolbeare's work provides those desperately seeking to offer state legislatures and Congress methods of providing low-income housing with their potentially strongest political argument: that the tax deduction system for homeowners—originally implemented to encourage single-family housing construction—has turned into a deep-subsidy program for the wealthy, who reap most of its benefits.

. . . It was Dolbeare who discovered that the amount of tax revenue forgone through mortgage deductions in 1983 alone was greater than the *entire* amount of Federal funding allocated to low-income housing subsidy programs since the first Depression-era efforts were launched. Last year Congress eliminated the Section 8 housing assistance program on the ground that it was too expensive, thus leaving no effective tool for low-income housing construction. . . .

The tax system *does* "distort the housing market," as Dolbeare argues, pushing consumers toward homeownership, with questionable benefit. Perhaps nowhere is that skewing of housing choice more painfully evident than in New York City, as *Village Voice* housing columnist Ottenberg should know. In a city with one of the largest proportions of rental units in its housing stock and with a vast gap between income and housing cost, many rent-poor tenants are being driven into co-ops and condos whose sole offering is a tax break. . . .

Tom Robbins
Editor, City Limits

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EDITORIALS.

Salvadoran Hopes

The simple act of meeting, the event in itself, in La Palma, El Salvador, last Monday has already had important results. The process that could lead to peace in that country may be long and drawn out, but it has been set in motion and there is reason to hope that it will continue. The guerrillas have been recognized as a legitimate force, one with which the government must deal if it wishes to unify the country. And José Napoleón Duarte has finally been perceived, nationally and internationally, as the President of all Salvadorans.

The question now is, When will there be peace? The U.S. Ambassador, Thomas Pickering, made an intriguing comment. "No one in La Palma has made any commitment to a cease-fire," he said. "Something was said about humanizing the war. I think for the time being there will be a period of fire and talk." In other words, the issue is not peace at all, but power.

Power shifts and social changes in El Salvador over the last four bloody years of civil war produced the meeting in La Palma. That the dialogue began at all suggests that both sides are dubious about the possibility of a military victory. In that stalemate, the Salvadoran middle class, which supports Duarte, is willing to consider a new social contract and political arrangement that would encompass a tactical alliance with the left.

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As an industrialist who supports Duarte framed it, in an interview with correspondent Lucia Annunziata before the negotiations began:

> Today the confrontation is not between communism and anticommunism but between two solutions for the future of El Salvador. D'Aubuisson is a local solution, the reaffirmation of the small-town identity of El Salvador, the continuity with the past where repression and the army were played against anything new. Duarte is a modern and international solution, whose focus is to get the Salvadoran economy going again. People like me are interested in making a product competitive in the international market. If that means negotiations with the unions and guerrillas, it is fine for me.

For the left, the meeting was a way to enter the broader political discourse. Leftists hope that this process will create a peaceful climate in which the political and social struggle can be waged. The new guerrilla leadership is not pacifist; those who head the negotiations merely won the protracted political debate inside the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front when it became apparent the revolution could not be won by military means alone. Now they have a chance to put their theory into practice.

Double Vision

The American electoral process often confuses the issues it is supposed to clarify. But two other elections in this hemisphere serve to clarify issues the Reagan Administration is trying to confuse.

The Administration considers the Nicaraguan balloting to be held November 4 a one-party affair, a typical Soviet-style referendum, because Arturo Cruz, the man whom George Bush, in one of his manic moments, endorsed as "the only viable challenger," has chosen not to participate. At the same time, it hails the presidential election planned for November 25 in Uruguay, even though the military government there has imprisoned Wilson Ferreira Aldunate, the leading opposition candidate [see "Dispatches," page 408].

Surely it is regrettable that Cruz is boycotting the elections, but whatever the faults of Sandinista democracy (and they are real), it is important to distinguish the electoral process in Nicaragua from the more traditional Latin American "democratic exercise" taking place in Uruguay.

In Nicaragua, seven parties are on the ballot. The opposition candidates have harshly criticized the Sandinistas at public meetings, in marches and in the press. In Uruguay, a country with an older tradition of democracy, Ferreira sits in prison and the leading opposition newspaper has been shut down because it published an interview with him.

Nevertheless, the Reagan Administration condemns Nicaragua's electoral process as a sham and dismisses its acceptance of the Contadora peace plan as a trick but remains stunningly silent while Uruguay's most popular politician, a proven democrat, sits out the election behind bars. With such a double standard, the real sham is this Administration's professed concern for democratic elections.

The Reagan Court

In our special issue "Fifteen Years of the Burger Court," we said that the composition of the Supreme Court was a matter for election debate. Conservatives agree with us. On October 2, National Public Radio's All Things Considered *interviewed Bruce Fein, formerly the Reagan Administration's Associate Deputy Attorney General and General Counsel for the Federal Communications Commission. Fein has written extensively on the Court, and as reporter Nina Totenberg points out, "His views are echoed elsewhere in the Administration, including high up in the White House and at the Justice Department." Because what he says reflects so accurately the New Right's agenda for the Supreme Court, we publish excerpts of the program.* —*The Editors*

FEIN: I believe that perhaps the most apposite comparison to this year's election would be 1936. At that time Franklin D. Roosevelt expressly made the Supreme Court an issue. He repeatedly denounced many of the High Court's decisions that were invalidating a series of his New Deal legislation.

. . .

First, in the area of abortion, I believe ultimately that *Roe v. Wade* will be overruled.

. . .

I believe that [the] principle [known as one man, one vote] has no foundation in the constitutional origins. It was not accepted by the Republic for almost 175 years, until 1962, and . . . simply cannot stand as a constitutional mandate.

TOTENBERG: Fein outlines other areas of law ripe for reversal under a Reagan court: sex discrimination.

FEIN: I think we will find greater latitude permitted the legislative bodies in dealing with gender classifications or discrimination. That is another area in which over the last ten years, really, a jurisprudence authored almost exclusively by the Court under the Chief Justiceship of Warren Burger has created very substantial burdens for legislatures in discriminating between males and females in their legislative activity.

. . .

TOTENBERG: In the criminal law, Fein says, the Reagan Court would not be satisfied merely to trim back decisions of the Warren Court.

FEIN: I think perhaps five, eight, years are needed before we will find a new reconstituted Court overruling such landmark cases as Miranda against Arizona, which requires police to inform suspects of their rights to silence and to an attorney when they are under interrogation and being held in custody. I believe that case will be overruled. I believe the Court will continue to relax standards that must be complied with before imposing the death penalty.

TOTENBERG: Another area that Fein and many others say would change under a Reagan Court is citizen access to courts. . . .

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FEIN: With a Reagan Court, I believe we would find substantial limits placed upon the ability of a private citizen who has not suffered what we would traditionally call a tangible permanent injury; either he has been physically hurt or he has lost money or some tangible way of that sort. If he hasn't suffered that kind of injury, I think the Court will announce doctrine that will largely keep him out of the Federal judiciary.

TOTENBERG: Another crusade of the President's is to allow greater accommodation between church and state. . . . Mr. Reagan would like . . . to overturn the key decision in the church-state relationship, the decision banning spoken prayer in public schools. . . .

FEIN: I do believe that a Court, once again, dominated by Reagan appointees, would overrule the school prayer decisions.

TOTENBERG: . . . Under the Warren and Burger Courts, it's been established that most of the Bill of Rights apply not only to the Federal government but to state governments as well. Many Reagan conservatives do not accept this legal doctrine. They believe, for example, that while the First Amendment forbids the Federal government to arrest you for saying certain outrageous things, a state government could be free to lock you up for saying the same things. . . .

FEIN: The First Amendment itself says *Congress* shall make no law restricting or abridging freedom of speech. A state, as far as I know, still is not Congress.

. . .

TOTENBERG: As Bruce Fein pointed out at the beginning of this broadcast, the 1984 election is more than a fight for the Presidency. It is a fight for the future of the Supreme Court and the law that will govern this country into the twenty-first century.

Crime Packaging

The President's crime package, which slid through Congress on the coattails of the spending bill passed on October 11, includes many goodies that hardline lawmakers have long sought. It restores nineteenth-century standards for criminal responsibility in Federal courts. The insanity defense is now permitted only when the defendant can prove that as a result of a mental disease or defect, he was "unable to appreciate the nature and quality or the wrongfulness of his acts." Other provisions increase penalties for drug offenses, reduce time off for good behavior and eliminate releases on parole. The bill establishes a Presidentially appointed commission charged to come up with sentencing guidelines that will "promote respect for the law," and it allows prosecutors as well as defendants to appeal sentences.

But bail reform is the centerpiece. The law empowers a Federal judge who thinks certain defendants may "pose a danger to any other person or the community" to confine them for up to ten days before trial. It does not define what kind of conduct would pose danger sufficient to warrant denial of bail or what procedures a judge should follow in determining that such a danger exists. In addition, the statute permits detention of persons who are arrested while on conditional release for another charge, no matter how minor either or both offenses are, and of those apprehended for violating immigration laws.

The impact of the preventive detention provision may turn out to be more symbolic than real. Only a small number of defendants in Federal courts can be considered imminently dangerous. And many Federal judges, aware that the constitutionality of the statute is likely to be challenged, will forgo exercising their increased discretion.

Still, the symbolism of the measure is powerful. It sends several clear messages: crime can be reduced by the pretrial confinement of a tiny fraction of suspects who come before Federal courts; government power should prevail when it collides with the presumption of innocence; state courts need not be overburdened by the due process requirements of the Constitution.

A combination of nasty Congressional competition and the political posturing that regularly determines criminal justice policy in this country produced the legislation. The Republican Senate passed the Administration's bill many months ago, but passage in the House, which had its own set of proposals, seemed unlikely. Moreover, John Conyers and other Democratic members of a House judiciary subcommittee regarded the legislation as repressive and were determined to stall it indefinitely. Then, on September 25, House Republicans bypassed the committee process, introducing a surprise motion to attach the President's crime package to the continuing resolution to finance government operations. Debate was limited to five minutes on each side, and there was a strong show of support for the bill early on. As a result, sixty Democrats fell in line behind it. Most of them were from the South, but even such Northern liberals as Peter Kostmayer of Pennsylvania, Bernard Dwyer of New Jersey, Tom Harkin of Iowa and Les AuCoin of Oregon were swayed. Apparently, they were afraid to vote against the President on crime control in an election year. It didn't matter that nobody knew what was in the 419-page bill: the flier circulating on the House floor in support of it and the exhortations of conservative California Representative Dan Lungren, who made the motion, were sufficient. "The American people have shown in the latest poll that this is the number-one issue for them," said Lungren. "Do not worry about next week; do not worry about last week."

But next week is upon us. As Representative Robert Kastenmeier, one of the few remaining voices of conscience in Congress on criminal justice policy, warned his colleagues, the new Federal law is not a cure for the violence of our society—just a karate chop to the Bill of Rights.

DIANA R. GORDON

Diana R. Gordon, president of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency from 1982 to 1983, teaches political science and criminology at City College of New York.

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BEAT THE DEVIL.

Campaign Diary

Janitors for all four major nominees today released their tax returns for the past five years. Meanwhile, Secret Service agents superintended the installation of a black box inside President Reagan. The black box will measure the President's altitude, atmospheric pressure, cruising speed and other vital data. The President himself ordered up the black box, explaining that he wanted to be "fully accountable" to the American people.

Giant Among Men

Anyone who doubts President Reagan's intellectual stamina should know that a recent profile in the *Los Angeles Times* revealed that each week he watches *Agronsky & Co.* from beginning to end, making him probably the only person in the United States regularly to accomplish that feat.

I write before the final debate and therefore have no way of knowing whether the President passed peacefully away in the view of millions or settled the "age issue" once and for all by wrestling his podium to the ground. Certainly the way things were going in the week before his second encounter with Mondale, he need only have survived the evening in one piece for the press to give him a clean bill of intellectual and physical health. Three days after the first debate, the press—no doubt embarrassed at having remained silent on the topic for so long—suddenly discovered that Reagan is so close to the grave that, like John Donne, he takes afternoon naps in his coffin just to keep in practice. This overstatement, according to the dialectical laws of pack journalism, sets the scene for an inevitable refutation.

I don't think Reagan, with his sound schooling in the principles of economics, would have dared argue, as George Bush did to Geraldine Ferraro, that talk of "real interest rates" is meaningless, since the money rate is what people pay when they borrow money to buy things like TV sets. This must rank as one of the silliest statements ever made on television by a public official. I hope Ferraro takes the opportunity to point out this fact, as well as to remind the nation of Boy George Bush's tie-breaking vote in the Senate in favor of nerve gas, his most substantive Vice-Presidential achievement. In this manner, he not only goes to funerals as part of his official functions; ever the preppie zealot, he plans for them too.

The real interest rate is the money interest rate minus the rate of inflation. Right now the money interest rate is between 12 and 13 percent, and the rate of inflation is 4.2 percent. Therefore, the real interest rate is between 8 and 9 percent, the highest in the postwar period. Friends should explain to Bush that if you borrow a hundred squash racquets from someone, promising to pay him back at the current interest rate of twenty squash racquets, the real squash-racquet interest rate will be zero if in the meantime the squash-racquet rate of inflation of 20 percent has increased your store of squash racquets by one-fifth. Of course acknowledgment of the severity of real interest rates would lead to criticism of the source of these high rates: namely, Paul Volcker and the Federal Reserve. Of Mondale, Ferraro, Bush and Reagan only the last named has shown any appetite for attacking this totem of the American Way.

The War on Drugs

Along with his pledge to raise taxes, Walter Mondale has called for the appointment of a "czar" to oversee the war against drugs. This seems to me a sign of ignorance and desperation. Any stepped-up war on drugs, like most anticrime crusades, invariably diminishes the freedom of innocent citizens while leaving the criminals untouched. Those who doubt this can study the genesis of anticrime and antiterrorism bills down the ages, including the batch that have just been passed by Congress. (The main factor in crime "waves" is demographics. Technically speaking, the fewer abortions, the more crime down the road.)

Antidrug campaigns tell us something about the Presidents who launch them. The consequences of Nixon's war on drugs, as Edward Jay Epstein's excellent *Agency of Fear* recounts, was G. Gordon Liddy and the infrastructure of the Watergate break-in. The outcome of Reagan's crusade, spearheaded by George Bush, has been, predictably enough, an avalanche of disinformation to the effect that drug smuggling into the United States is masterminded by Fidel Castro and the Sandinista directorate.

The disinformation technique is simplicity itself. Drug smugglers facing severe jail sentences have discovered that by claiming knowledge of the participation of Cuba and Nicaragua in their misdeeds they are likely to receive lenient treatment.

An example of this came this summer, in a story by Joel Brinkley in *The New York Times* for July 19. The headline read "U.S. Accuses Managua of Role in Cocaine Traffic," and the lead reported that an "affidavit, sworn testimony by an agent of the United States Drug Enforcement Administration," claimed that the Sandinistas, specifically Frederico Vaughan, an aide of Tomás Borge, were involved with Colombians in drug smuggling. On the basis of the affidavit, Vaughan was indicted [see Joel Millman, "False Connection," *The Nation*, September 22].

Now, the D.E.A. based its testimony on statements made by one of the genuine smugglers it had arrested. It is scarcely surprising that this smuggler should have said anything likely to increase his chances for a light sentence. But as Ronald Kuby and William Kunstler, on behalf of the Center for Constitutional Rights, pointed out to *The Times* (in a letter the paper did not see fit to publish), what is disturbing is the willingness of the D.E.A. "to clothe such patently unreliable testimony in a Government affidavit and the utter credulity with which the American press views the finished product. The . . . agent, of course, did not swear to the truth of the smuggler's statements but merely swore that the smuggler made them. Thusly are the words of an anonymous drug pusher transubstantiated into 'sworn testimony' fit for *Times* reportage."

Instead of talking about czars, Mondale should stay in

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

character and charge that Reagan has allowed a fine all-American drug industry to go overseas to runaway sweatshops in Third World countries like Jamaica and Colombia. A Mondale Administration will stand by the dope growers of Humboldt County and the sturdy refiners of the Northeast. A Mondale Administration will not hesitate to propose protectionist legislation to force foreign competitors to halt drug dumping and to make them reflect the true costs of production, shorn of slave wages and government subsidies. A Mondale Administration . . . but you get the idea.

Balancing Acts

Are you more likely to tolerate drivel than you were four years ago? I think the answer is yes. Four years of Reagan has deadened the senses against an uninterrupted barrage of nonsense. I finished reading one of William Safire's columns last week and was contemplating a run through Anthony Lewis's when I suddenly realized that I had experienced none of the feelings of intellectual distress, outrage, misery, fear, loathing, contempt, abhorrence, indignation and overall pissed-offness that are the inevitable consequences of reading Safire's prose. I had ingested his column in a sort of synesthetic equilibrium in which my mind had automatically abdicated its normal functions.

I took another look. Sure enough, Safire's column was a piece of ripe insanity. He used the I.R.A.'s Brighton bomb to argue in favor of President Reagan's Star Wars program. The idea seemed to be that the "terrorists" of the future (by which Safire did not mean governments holding the world for ransom with their nuclear arsenals) would probably use nuclear devices to blackmail mankind but would be outwitted by the Star Wars defense. The column concluded, "A generation from now, the Reagan Presidency will be remembered for sinking the socialistic Law of the Sea and for launching the world's counterterror space defense. How many of us will be able to say we supported him in his greatest moves?"

Now that is raving, pure and simple. But if you asked Punch Sulzberger about it, he would probably say that those who dislike this kind of talk were able to turn on the same day to Anthony Lewis whacking away at George Bush. This is what Op-Ed intellectual discourse has got us into. So long as you can strike some sort of "balance," it doesn't matter that on one end of the seesaw sits a man saying things that in a rational world would have him held by doctors for observation.

On October 4 the *Times* Op-Ed page had a piece by Kenneth Adelman, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, headed "More Secure Than 4 Years Ago." But both *The Times* and *The Washington Post* regularly print such preposterous and self-serving handouts by government officials, as if it were their journalistic responsibility to do so. The balance traditionally required in the news columns has thus seeped into the parched little Op-Ed acreage once intended to be a sanctuary for the heterodox and the truly critical.

Mao-Maoing the Peacemakers

In a respectful article in *Mother Jones* about the mad Maoist André Glucksmann, Paul Berman writes that after "the Palestine Liberation Organization murdered 11 Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympic Games. . . . Terrorist and proterrorist New Left groups around the world applauded the PLO deed." Applauded? I'd be interested to know which groups Berman is talking about.

The seeds of Maoism thrive in many quarters. Robert Leiken, author of numerous slanders against the Sandinistas in the October 8 issue of *The New Republic*, has been noted in the past for his Maoist enthusiasms, whatever political doctrine he may now commend. Maoism is, *inter alia*, distinguished by rabid hatred of the Soviet Union, so a Maoist would find nothing ideologically contradictory in a self-proclaimed leftist like Leiken being met at the Managua airport by U.S. Embassy officials and subsequently attacking the Sandinistas, who are, as the world knows, mere proxies of Cuba and the Soviet Union. The results of such ideological contortions are naturally printed with relish by *The New Republic*.

The Glucksmann who now confides to John Vinocur of *The Times* that the "anti-Americanism" of German peace marchers is cognate to anti-Semitism and who argues for the therapeutic political function of nuclear warheads is the same Glucksmann who wrote in *New Left Review* in 1968:

> Whoever judges from within the framework of Mao Tse-tung's thought will not hear the deterrent discourse, he will not understand that shared terror may be the basis for a community, and give a meaning, a policy and a future to the word humanity. . . . Mao Tse-tung rejects the Hegelian solution, the struggle to the death. For him, as for Clausewitz after Jena, "resistance" is sacred. The absolute fear of death never becomes the negativity of the spirit, it absolutely defines the slave, and the fascinating fear of nuclear death, "the nuclear slave."

This is one of the fancier ways of rejecting a U.S. no-first-use policy and, indeed, of justifying a U.S. first strike.

Footnote: On the subject of *New Left Review* I note that in the October 13 issue of *The Nation*, Ann Snitow observes that Juliet Mitchell was one of the few women "in the cluster of Marxist intellectuals" who wrote for *N.L.R.* in the 1960s. This is certainly true. Snitow goes on to say that she "suspects those men were surprised when their dutiful colleague began to use the classical tools of Marxism to write 'Women: The Longest Revolution.'" Well, I wasn't surprised, and I was the person who sat in the *N.L.R.* office in 1966 readying manuscripts for publication. Nor was I surprised that the essay was suffused with concepts that may have been Marxist but certainly were Althusserian, since those were what everyone, including Juliet, was talking about in those days.

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DISPATCHES.

■ BRITAIN: 'Mole' Hunt

Although retired and operating a stud farm in Australia, Peter Wright is proving vexatious to his former employer, Britain's staid MI5. Formerly a high-ranking official in the internal security organization, Wright prepared a 150-page report titled "The Security of the U.K. against the Assault of Russia's Intelligence Service," in which he claims that from 1958 to 1975 the Soviet Union had between 200 and 300 spies in Britain, some of them inside MI5. He is threatening to expand his paper into a book to force the government to investigate his charges.

Wright knows what he is talking about. For seven years he headed MI5's cryptically named Fluency Working Party, a special committee set up to root out Soviet penetration of the service. His most sensational claim, uttered over British television in July, is that the late Sir Roger Hollis, director general of MI5 from 1956 to 1965, was a Soviet "mole." It should be noted that those charges have been made and denied before. The conservative newspaperman Chapman Pincher first carried them in his 1981 book, *Their Trade Is Treachery*, which caused Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to rise in Parliament to defend Hollis. Pincher has a sequel coming out this fall, *Too Secret Too Long: The Great Betrayal of Britain's Crucial Secrets*, and it is widely believed in London that Wright is Pincher's major unidentified source, as he was for the earlier book.

Wright may or may not be proved wrong, but he represents a powerful school of thought that is dividing the service. His role is reminiscent of that played by James Angleton, the C.I.A.'s counterintelligence chief, whose allegations of Soviet penetration so paralyzed the agency that Director of Central Intelligence William Colby had him fired. (Angleton's suspicions were said to extend to Colby himself.)

Although many of Wright's fellow spooks in MI5 concur with his assessment of Hollis's ultimate loyalties, they are shocked that he made his beliefs public. And Margaret Thatcher's government has let it be known that if Wright ventures home from Australia, he could be prosecuted for violating the Official Secrets Act.

■ DENMARK: Spies for Peace

Peace activists in the 1980s are notable for their knowledge of military detail. Owen Wilkes, a New Zealander in his mid-40s, is no exception. He has done some detective work that has shaken foreign ministries in Sweden and Denmark. Last year, Wilkes bicycled around Gotland, a large island in the Baltic Sea, off the coast of Sweden, photographing secret military installations. He was subsequently expelled from the country. This summer he discovered similar installations on the Faeroe Islands, which are nominally self-governing but whose foreign and defense policies are controlled by Denmark. The islands' strategic location, north of Scotland and east of Iceland, puts them smack in one of the two paths the Soviet fleet has to take when leaving the North Sea.

Wilkes and Paul Claesson, a Dane, published the results of their investigation of military facilities on the Faeroe Islands in *Forsvar*, a Danish magazine. The people who live on the islands knew there was a radar station operated by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on Sornfelli Mountain, several miles outside the Faeroe capital of Torshavn. What the locals didn't know until they read the Wilkes-Claesson article was that the U.S. National Security Agency runs an intelligence-collecting operation at the station, making their homeland a likely target in the event of war.

The revelations raised a storm of protest in the Lagting, the islands' parliament, which had voted on three previous occasions to remove the NATO base. Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Elleman-Jensen was forced to reveal that the Danish government was aware of the N.S.A. facility. In 1963, the United States negotiated an agreement with Denmark that permitted the Americans to build their own communications installation on the NATO base; since the pact was of a purely "technical nature," it was never submitted to the Lagting or the Danish parliament for approval.

The reason for the secrecy is not difficult to surmise. As a NATO member, Denmark has agreed to allow alliance bases on its soil where necessary, but has a longstanding policy against allowing individual countries to set up bases of their own on its territory. The N.S.A. installation, which intercepts Soviet communications, undermines the Danes' policy of maintaining a certain distance from both superpowers. Now the islanders are determined to have the base removed.

■ EGYPT: Deteriorating Alliance

Sheik Salah Abu Isma'il has a complicated political résumé. He has long been a leading figure in the Moslem Brotherhood, or the Ikhwan, a fundamentalist religious organization dedicated to establishing an Islamic state in Egypt. At the same time, he is a member of the Supreme Board of the New Wafd, a party traditionally dedicated to a secular, nationalist Egypt. How he straddles those two affiliations speaks volumes about the prevailing political atmosphere in Egypt.

The kernel of the alliance between the New Wafd and the Moslem Brotherhood is what Sheik Isma'il calls the "awakening," the resurgence of Egyptian interest in fundamentalist Islam. Fouad Serrugg'uddin, the aging leader of the New Wafd, obviously thought he could reap the benefits of this grass-roots movement at low cost during last May's parliamentary elections. He forged a Wafd-Ikhwan alliance that won the greatest portion of the opposition vote (15 percent), but only ten of the fifty-eight seats won as a result of the alliance went to the Ikhwan.

After the elections, the alliance began to unravel. In response to fierce press criticism of the New Wafd's decision to support the adoption of Koranic law in Egyptian courts, the coalition's Supreme Board met and replaced Sheik Isma'il—who had functioned as the New Wafd Party's spokesman—with a known secularist.

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KAI BIRD AND MAX HOLLAND

Sheik Isma'il promptly announced he was suspending his membership in the party. "I was stunned," he said. "What really made me angry was the party's change of heart about me at a time when I was being targeted by proponents of secularism and by non-Moslems." The sheik's firm response forced the New Wafd leadership to backtrack, and the party issued a statement reaffirming its support for Koranic law as a basis for all legislation. Within a week, Sheik Isma'il had rejoined the party. (In another sign of the popularity of the religious right wing, a judge recently gave surprisingly lenient sentences to 107 members of Al Jihad, a fundamentalist organization which led an armed uprising in Upper Egypt three years ago.)

The U.S. Embassy in Cairo considers the sheik a force to be reckoned with, no matter what the future of the alliance. Soon after the elections, Isma'il says, he was

> personally asked to talk with [U.S. diplomats] about the Personal Status Law [a controversial pending bill which would partially Islamize laws on marriage and divorce]. . . . I spent six hours with them. . . . They tried to meet with me several times after that to find out what my views were, but I declined despite the persistent requests they made every time I declined. I explained to them that I would not meet with them because they were in league with the Jews. I told them, "To us, you and the Jews are alike. . . . You have abetted the Zionists to get us out of our land."

■ THE PHILIPPINES: Where's the $10 Billion?

The new U.S. envoy to Manila recently touched off a flurry of controversy. During a news conference, Ambassador Stephen Bosworth told local reporters that wealthy Philippine entrepreneurs had invested more than $10 billion abroad, citing calculations made by a prominent Philippine economist, Bernardo Villegas of the Center for Research and Communications. Bosworth then pointed out that if only half that sum was returned to the Philippines, the country would not have to negotiate further loans from the International Monetary Fund.

Opposition members of the newly elected parliament promptly filed a resolution to have a committee confirm the figure and determine the names of those who have transferred so much money abroad. Two pro-government legislators angrily decried what they called Bosworth's "undiplomatic posture" in repeating the information at a press conference.

Wittingly or not, Bosworth has lent credence to an issue that Ferdinand Marcos's opponents will use against him. They have repeatedly charged that many of the loans obtained from foreign commercial banks in recent years were not invested domestically but were transferred out of the country by entrepreneurs with palace connections. Because austerity measures (such as cutting subsidies for basic foods and fuel) have been taken so that the government can make interest payments on its $30 billion foreign debt, the issue of capital flight takes on powerful political overtones.

Many of the opposition candidates elected to Parliament in May promised a full accounting of the country's debt. Their efforts have been frustrated by an amendment to the Central Bank Act prohibiting the bank from releasing the debt figures of individual firms "except under order of the court." So far, no court has issued such an order.

Although a comprehensive list is not available, it is known that some of the money was loaned to Herminio Disini. Disini once headed a business empire of fifty companies, known as the Herdis Group. As a relative-by-marriage of Imelda Marcos he made a fortune through a cigarette monopoly granted by the presidential palace. When his companies went bankrupt in 1981, the government was left holding an estimated $657 million debt. Disini now lives in Switzerland.

■ URUGUAY: Choosing a President (?)

After eleven years of military rule, Uruguay is holding a presidential election in November, but a celebration of its return to democracy would be premature. The country's most popular politician, Wilson Ferreira Aldunate, is in jail and unable to run.

Ferreira was the leading vote-getter in 1971, when the last presidential polling was held. By any measure, he would win the upcoming race too, but after spending more than 4,000 days in exile, he returned to Uruguay in mid-June and was promptly thrown in prison.

Since then, the question of whether Ferreira should be allowed to enter the election has dominated political discourse. The Blanco Party nominated him for the presidency despite his inability to run. But the ruling junta guessed, correctly, that it could use this issue to drive a wedge between the opposition political parties, given Ferreira's popularity. After vainly calling on the other parties to join it in a boycott of the election, the Blanco Party entered another candidate, journalist Alberto Zumaran, who has pledged that if elected he will immediately hold new elections in which Ferreira can participate.

The U.S. Embassy is vigorously supporting Uruguay's tarnished effort to revive democracy. Glossing over the obviously political nature of Ferreira's solitary confinement, it has primly called on the junta to guarantee him due process and a speedy trial. The State Department's favored candidate is former Minister of Education Julio Sanguinetti, a member of Uruguay's other traditional party, the Colorados. With Ferreira out of the running, he is the favorite in the polls.

The wild card in this election is the large number of young people who will be voting for the first time. Because democracy has been outlawed for eleven years, there could be as many as 600,000 to 700,000 first-time voters out of a population of 2.7 million, political scientists estimate. Many young people were involved in Montevideo's first demonstration against U.S. intervention in Central America, which was held during the last week of August. If the covert war against Nicaragua captures the indignation of the new generation of voters, the U.S. backing for Sanguinetti could be a political kiss of death.

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ARTICLES.

MARINE BARRACKS BOMBING

The Warnings Reagan Ignored

PATRICK J. SLOYAN

It was one of Ronald Reagan's longest days. The President had planned to chair only one meeting of the National Security Council on October 18, 1983, but it turned into two separate sessions. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger had, for the first time, formally presented the Pentagon's recommendation that U.S. marines in Lebanon be pulled out of their vulnerable base at Beirut International Airport. Gen. John Vessey, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, had made the same proposal informally a few days earlier to Robert McFarlane, the President's national security adviser. Reagan's defense chief and senior military adviser argued that the U.S. peacekeeping role in Lebanon had been wrecked by the U.S. Navy's bombardments of the city and by the marines' firefights with Moslems who were locked in battle with Christian forces. The Central Intelligence Agency, working with what analysts later called "good quality" intelligence, had warned the White House of an upsurge in threats of terrorist attacks against the marines, who were seen by Lebanese as siding with Christian President Amin Gemayel in his civil war against Druse and Shiite factions. The marines' enclave at the airport was vulnerable to shelling by Druse artillery in nearby hills and to small-arms fire from neighboring Shiite suburbs. American casualties had climbed sharply in the past month. Holding the low ground seemed another chapter in military madness to nationwide television audiences fed a nightly diet of network combat footage—and to the marines themselves. "It sucks," Lieut. Mark A. Brilakis of Haworth, New Jersey, told a reporter.

At the White House meeting, Weinberger represented generals determined to avoid an untenable military situation in the name of a fuzzy foreign-policy goal. The top brass wanted the marines returned to the ships cruising offshore. McFarlane and Secretary of State George Shultz opposed the withdrawal. Of all the men in the room that day, McFarlane was most directly responsible for transforming the marines from neutral peacekeepers to pro-Christian combatants. One month earlier, as Reagan's personal representative in Beirut, he had forced the U.S. military commander in Lebanon to use American firepower against the Moslems. Final responsibility for that decision, of course, rested with the President.

A year later, some of those who attended the October 18 meeting insist Reagan never rejected the Pentagon's request to pull the marines out of Beirut. After Weinberger made the case for withdrawal, there was a break during which the defense chief was persuaded to drop the formal recommendation. So, for the record, Reagan was not required to decide on the plan. But at least one senior White House official is haunted by Reagan's missed opportunity that day. "There were so many reasons why we couldn't do it," Edwin Meese 3d told friends recently. "But I wish we had."

Five days after the N.S.C. meeting, Marine guards with unloaded weapons watched as a yellow truck breezed by them through the entrance of the airport base. The truck was filled with explosives and bottled gas, which were detonated in the driveway beneath the headquarters, in which 350 members of the 24th Marine Amphibious Unit (M.A.U.) were sleeping. Killed in the blast were 241 marines, most of them teen-agers or in their early 20s. The Federal Bureau of Investigation later estimated the explosion was equal to 12,000 pounds of TNT, one of the largest single nonnuclear explosions in American records. That fact is contained in a report by a Defense Department commission set up to investigate the bombing. The commission, whose members had been handpicked by Weinberger, concluded that one man should be held accountable for the tragedy: Lieut. Col. Howard L. Gerlach, who was in charge of security at the airport base. But Gerlach's security plan had been approved by Col. Timothy Geraghty, commander of the 24th M.A.U., and the Pentagon commission recommended that both men be disciplined.

However, in an unusual move, President Reagan blocked legal proceedings against Geraghty and Gerlach and accepted responsibility for the massacre, saying, "The local commanders have already suffered quite enough." Gerlach was in a coma for several days after the blast, one of more than fifty marines wounded, and has not regained the use of his legs. The President's action forestalled almost certain courts-martial for the two officers. Traditionally, Presidents permit military justice to run its course before considering commutation appeals. But a trial of Geraghty and Gerlach would have publicized in an election year what the Pentagon commission cryptically called "a series of circumstances beyond the control of these commanders that influenced their judgment and their actions relating to the security of the [marines]."

The evidence suppressed about the massacre leads inside the cocoon spun around the former actor by his handlers. The commission, headed by retired Adm. Robert Long, was aware of what took place at the October 18 meeting—that Reagan ignored C.I.A. warnings of a terrorist attack and the recommendations of his senior civilian and uniformed advisers that the marines be pulled out. Had Reagan given the order that day, the troops could have been evacuated within twenty-four hours, Marine Corps officers estimated at the time.

For a variety of conflicting and dubious reasons, members of the commission concede they omitted from their report any discussion of the roles played by Reagan, McFar-

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lane, Weinberger and General Vessey at the meeting, as well as of the confrontation that preceded it between Reagan's men and the U.S. military and State Department in Lebanon. The commission's charter, which was drawn up by Weinberger, specifically prohibited the panel from commenting on "political decisions" involved in the tragedy. Panel members agreed to the restriction because they hoped to influence Reagan to withdraw the marines from Lebanon. According to one member, the commission worried that revealing all the facts about the internal debate would cause the Administration to reject its call for removal of the still-vulnerable U.S. troops. As it happened, that and other commission recommendations submitted on December 20 were ignored by Reagan.

The Administration's handling of the crisis in Lebanon last year was best summed up by Robert Dillon, a career Foreign Service officer and the U.S. Ambassador in Beirut at the time: "It was amateur night." In July 1983, Dillon was brushed aside by two White House aides arriving on their first visit to Lebanon. McFarlane, who had replaced Philip Habib as the President's special Middle East envoy, and Richard Fairbanks, McFarlane's deputy, were made senior to Dillon on Reagan's orders. One of McFarlane's first moves was to instruct Dillon to break off contacts with Walid Jumblat, leader of the Druse community. Until then, Dillon had been mediating disputes between Jumblat and President Gemayel to prevent a resumption of the Moslem-Christian civil war. The U.S. contacts had kept the marines out of the crossfire of Lebanese politics. When Dillon challenged the cutoff order, McFarlane admitted that he had issued it at Gemayel's request. The Lebanese President had complained that Dillon's meetings with Jumblat had enhanced the Druse leader's prestige, McFarlane explained. Despite Dillon's protests, McFarlane refused to back down, so the Ambassador made an appeal to Secretary of State Shultz. Shultz put the matter to Reagan, who eventually rescinded McFarlane's order. By then it was mid-August, and McFarlane was frantically trying to contact the Druse leader. Intense fighting between Christian and Druse forces had broken out in the Shuf Mountains, and the marines had come under fire for the first time in their eleven-month stay in Lebanon.

When McFarlane arrived in Lebanon the Shuf was a ticking time bomb. Israeli forces had permitted Christian militia troops to take up positions in the Druse heartland. To calm the resulting uproar in the Druse community in Israel, the Begin government supplied arms to Jumblat's fierce Druse warriors. Meanwhile, Jumblat's main supplier, Syria, had provided artillery and other supplies for the looming confrontation. President Gemayel was seeking to realize his father's dream—Marunistan. He would wrest the Shuf from the Druse and make it part of a Maronite Christian canton, which would include Beirut and which, Jerusalem hoped, would ally itself with Israel. Syria could have the Bekaa Valley. It was the old Lebanese game: archenemies Syria and Israel hoping to capitalize on the bloody Christian-Moslem civil war. Gemayel's desperate gamble began with the Israeli withdrawal from the Shuf on September 4.

But Reagan and McFarlane saw it as a showdown with the Soviet Union. Thirteen warships, including two aircraft carriers, bearing 8,000 to 11,000 American sailors had been assembled off Lebanon's coast in a U.S. show of strength. The 1,400 marines stationed in Beirut were merely the most visible tip of the U.S. sword in the region. The White House view was that Moscow, Syria's major arms supplier, was moving against Lebanon, a vital U.S. ally. It was a view constantly challenged by the State Department and its Middle East experts, who saw Lebanon as a quagmire, the last place to make a stand. In Beirut, McFarlane was demanding loyalty to Reagan, whom the former marine constantly referred to as the Commander in Chief. "It was all this post-Vietnam syndrome and loyalty crap," said one U.S. Embassy official. But McFarlane got an enthusiastic response from Gemayel, who was losing his gamble in the Shuf. The Israelis had pulled out, despite President Reagan's repeated pleas to Jerusalem that they remain. As they withdrew, they had let 1,000 Christian militia troops loyal to Gemayel through their line to attack Jumblat's forces at a strategic road junction. The Druse butchered them on September 6. The survivors fell back behind the Lebanese Army line around the mountaintop village of Suk al Gharb. The Druse pounded Suk al Gharb with artillery. As long as the line held, the Druse would be prevented from joining up with Shiite militiamen in the Beirut suburbs, who were also surrounded by Lebanese Army units. But the American-trained and -financed Lebanese Army, made up of Druse and Shiite Moslems as well as Christians, was on the verge of disintegrating along factional lines. Gemayel pleaded with McFarlane for American military intervention. "Just a few hours by the American jet planes and they [the

DRAWINGS BY DAVID SHANNON

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Druse] will be finished," explained Sabeeb Salem, a Gemayel confidant. "We are victims of outsiders," moaned the Lebanese President.

Events reached the boiling point on Friday, September 9. That night a series of assaults was launched against Suk al Gharb. There were reports that Syrians, Iranians and the Syrian-controlled Palestine Liberation Army fighters were involved in the attack. McFarlane agreed with the Gemayel government's assessment of the situation: Without U.S. military support, Suk al Gharb would fall. Syrian intervention had changed the odds. But both the marines and the U.S. armada were specifically prohibited by order of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from engaging in combat, reprisals or punitive measures. They could use their weapons only in self-defense, as prescribed by the War Powers Act. Under the act, the President must notify Congress if U.S. forces become involved in foreign hostilities. "What was needed at Suk al Gharb went way beyond self-defense," Dillon later told Pentagon and Congressional investigators. "This was direct combat support for the Lebanese Army against the Druse." In order to skirt the War Powers Act, McFarlane had to make the case that U.S. intervention was an act of self-defense. If the Druse captured Suk al Gharb, he argued, they would threaten the marines and the U.S. Embassy. That was patently bogus. From their present positions, the Druse could bombard the marines, as they had already done.

Nevertheless, President Reagan approved McFarlane's request for U.S. firepower. On September 12, the White House, in a formal message to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, ordered that "direct support of the Lebanese Armed Forces was to be considered as an act of self-defense under the existing rules of engagement." The Pentagon promptly relayed the order, but the Joint Chiefs had tacked on an important cautionary proviso. The order said U.S. firepower could be used only "when the U.S. ground commander determined that Suk al Gharb was in danger of falling." Colonel Geraghty, the boyish-looking commander of the marines at the Beirut airport, was charged with making the determination.

Geraghty was convinced that wider American military intervention in the civil war would endanger his small, vulnerable force. "We'll get slaughtered down here," Geraghty told McFarlane during one shouting match that was tape-recorded by the Marine base's telecommunications center. "We'll pay the price." Geraghty was also convinced that dug-in Lebanese Army troops could withstand the Druse artillery barrages, and he proved to be right. To this day Suk al Gharb is held by the Lebanese Army. For six days, Geraghty refused to call in U.S. naval bombardments. On September 19, following reports that a tank column was approaching the village, he gave in. McFarlane and his aides had invoked the full authority of Reagan's office. "To me, they were speaking for the Commander in Chief," Geraghty later told associates. At 10:04 A.M. the U.S.S. Virginia opened up with its two 5-inch guns. In Washington the next day, Reagan said in an interview: "I have given orders that the marines are going to be able to protect themselves. The fighting is aided and abetted by the Syrians who are definitely influenced by the Soviet forces in their country."

After the Druse positions had been subjected to six days of sporadic shelling, Syria agreed to a cease-fire and negotiations in Geneva. Outwardly, it seemed a victory for Reagan's willingness to use firepower. But the cease-fire meant little to the marines, for they had come under sniper attack from Shiite Moslem forces surrounding the airport. "It very quickly became clear we had miscalculated by becoming involved in the civil war," Dillon told the Pentagon commission. The marines struck back with their own sniper teams, announcing "confirmed kills" to the Western and Lebanese press.

To protect his troops from Shiite fire, Lieut. Col. Larry Gerlach bunked them in the headquarters, made of reinforced concrete. That move reduced the number of casualties, but the Joint Chiefs remained determined to get the soldiers out. They ordered the senior ground forces commander, NATO Gen. Bernard Rogers, to recommend the withdrawal of the marines, and he did so in a memorandum dated October 18, the day of the fateful White House meeting.

Reagan's reasons for opposing the withdrawal are well known: such a move would prompt France, Italy and Britain, the other members of the international peacekeeping force, to retreat from Lebanon—to pull out under pressure from Syria and, more important, the Soviet Union. "It was a calculated gamble by Reagan to keep the marines there," said a Pentagon veteran who participated in the debate. "Reagan gambled and lost."

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But that is an inaccurate assessment. The 241 dead marines, their parents, wives and children, their sweethearts and the cripples like Gerlach are the ones who lost. Reagan escaped unscathed and is still cheerily accepting advice from ignorant and inexperienced men, who divide their time between petty bickering and global miscalculation. □

'THE THIRD WORLD WAR'

The President's Favorite Book

RONNIE DUGGER

The book President Reagan apparently regarded last year as most important for his work is a novel about a limited nuclear war that results in the collapse of the Soviet empire.

The New York Times Book Review asked Reagan and others what was "the most important book they read for their work and what was the best book they read for pleasure" in 1983. Here is the President's reply, in its entirety, as it appeared in the December 4 issue: "John Hackett's 'The Third World War: August 1985,' Joanna Stratton's 'Pioneer Women,' and David Lamb's 'The Africans.'"

The Third World War, published in 1979, is a former NATO commander's account of a limited nuclear war fought in 1985 between the Soviet Union and the West. *Pioneer Women* is a description of life on the Kansas frontier, based on 800 women's memoirs written down in the 1920s by the author's great-grandmother. *The Africans* is a personal view of contemporary black Africa, written by a newspaperman who represented the *Los Angeles Times* there from 1976 to 1980.

From the order in which Reagan listed the three titles, we may deduce that he regarded Hackett's as the most important book for his work in 1983, Stratton's as the most pleasurable and Lamb's, apparently, as the second most important for his work. Strangely—even remarkably—the press did not ask him why Hackett's book was so important to him.

Until his retirement, in 1968, Gen. Sir John Hackett was Commander in Chief of the British Army of the Rhine and the Commander of NATO's Northern Army Group. The title page lists the authors as Sir John "and other top-ranking NATO generals and advisors," and according to published reports, subsequently confirmed by Hackett, his collaborators included an air chief marshal, a vice admiral, a major general and a former British delegate to the organization, all retired.

Several active NATO officials reportedly read the book before it was published. In his acknowledgments Hackett conveys the impression that the project was an inside job originating in high-level alliance circles. "We have had invaluable advice," he writes, "from a great variety of sources, including the Ministry of Defence in London, Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe, Allied Forces Central Europe, the British Royal Military College of Science, and elsewhere."

According to promotional statements in the paperback edition, British Prime Minister James Callaghan gave President Jimmy Carter a copy of the book "as a warning." *The New York Times* reported that Carter was said to keep it next to his Bible in the Oval Office. When I asked Carter about this, he replied, "Mr. Callaghan gave me the book, not as a warning. I read it and did not keep it on my desk or near the Bible."

Hackett's acknowledged purpose in writing the book was to stimulate a military buildup in the West by convincing his readers that given the balance of forces prevailing in the late 1970s, the Russians could conquer Europe in a conventional war. The writing in *The Third World War* is pedestrian, and much of the substance is dry and flat. Long passages on strategy and tactics, cast in the acronym-scarred gobbledygook of military history, are practically unreadable. The book's commercial success is probably attributable to its quasi-official status and to the public's anxiety about nuclear war.

In Hackett's first draft, Soviet troops occupy West Germany, apparently after it has been devastated by a nuclear attack. "It was made clear to me," he later told Judy Klemesrud of *The Times*, "that NATO could not survive that. So . . . I tore up 30,000 words and started again." Clearly, the general was deliberately manipulating the events in his story so that his war could end with the Western victory that President Reagan read about last year.

Ronnie Dugger, publisher of the Texas Observer, *is the author of* On Reagan, *published by McGraw-Hill last year.*

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According to the novel, in 1984 a Republican from the South, whom Hackett calls Governor Thompson, campaigned for the Presidency against "the soft-centered international liberalism" of Walter Mondale, his Democratic opponent, and won.

In August 1985, the Soviet Union invades Western Europe, using conventional weapons and chemical warfare (nerve gas and the like, one assumes, although Hackett does not say outright). The battle is joined, and American F-4 Phantoms and U.S.-supplied British and West German artillery units retaliate in kind. After three weeks of fighting, the Soviet offensive is brought to a halt. The Russians also lose "the Battle of the Atlantic," which Hackett describes with a kind of fascination peculiar to the military mind.

Hackett tells us that the Soviet strategists do not draw a sharp line between nuclear and conventional weaponry. "Nuclear and non-nuclear warfare had never been regarded in the Red Army's philosophy as alternatives," he writes. "Each fitted in as an element in a total war-fighting capability, to be exploited as policy and occasion demanded."

Nevertheless, in Hackett's story a faction in the Politburo opposes the use of nuclear weapons, only to be outmaneuvered by what he calls the nuclear party. As the war in Europe goes against them, the Russians become desperate and decide they will attack the city of Birmingham, England, with a nuclear bomb. This strike is to be accompanied by a demand that the United States agree that the world be divided into American and Soviet spheres of influence, "failing which further selective strikes would be carried out."

By portraying the Russians as losing the conventional war in Europe, Hackett avoids having the West use nuclear bombs first. Had he let the war go against the West, he would have had to deal with the well-known NATO doctrine that stipulates the United States will use nuclear weapons rather than lose to the Soviet Union in a conventional war in Europe.

He bases the Soviet Union's "first use" on the absurd idea that the Russians would believe they could successfully blackmail the West by destroying an English city and threatening further attacks. As Stanley Hoffman wrote in *The New York Times Book Review* concerning this, the Russians might use nuclear weapons first, "but it is not reasonable to assume that, in such a case, they would simply drop a bomb on one city and then sit back. It is just as plausible to assume that the NATO forces, having been pushed back, would be the first to 'go nuclear' (as NATO strategic doctrine provides)."

Hackett has the Russians destroy Birmingham, a city of about 2 million people, with one nuclear warhead carried by an SS-17 missile. The explosion kills more than 300,000 people "within minutes" and flattens the center of the city. Hackett does not tell us how many more people die in the aftermath, although the events in the story are being described as if he were writing two years later.

"A few minutes after the detonation of the nuclear weapon over Birmingham," Hackett and his NATO colleagues write, "the President of the United States was speaking to the British Prime Minister. . . . It was at once agreed that immediate retaliation was necessary, if only to avoid a catastrophic decline in civilian and military morale. The French President was called and gave his instant concurrence."

Immediately, an American and a British submarine each fire two missiles at Minsk, a city of 1.25 million people in the western part of the Soviet Union. The submarines appear to be of the Polaris type, and each missile is armed with multiple warheads. If Hackett intended the missiles to be Polaris A-3s, which were first deployed in 1964, they would have three warheads which are not independently targeted. (Poseidon missiles, first deployed in U.S. submarines in 1971, carry ten independently targeted warheads.) In compliance with the orders of the U.S. President and the British Prime Minister, the French President concurring, the multiple warheads from the four missiles, "tailored exactly to their task," explode "on target in quick succession."

Although he takes seventeen pages to describe the destruction and chaos in Birmingham, Hackett devotes only two sentences to what happens in Minsk: "The effect was cataclysmic. It was the horror of Birmingham repeated, only many times worse, scarcely mitigated at all by civil defense precautions." One may reasonably assume that about twelve nuclear weapons, exploded among those 1.25 million people, killed nearly all of them.

Now we come to the good part. The impact of the destruction of Minsk, Sir John writes, "was everywhere enormous but nowhere more so than within the Soviet Union and its satellites." Minsk, he tells us, had been "a well-chosen target, close to Poland on the West, capital of the theoretically autonomous republic of Byelorussia, and the Ukraine's neighbor on the north." The Soviet satellites and colonies revolt, and soon there follows "the collapse of the U.S.S.R." and, of course, "the collapse of the Warsaw Pact."

Confining oneself to well-known facts, one may be able to deduce what aspects of *The Third World War: August 1985* the President found so valuable for his work.

First, the book describes a limited nuclear war that does not become a worldwide holocaust. During Reagan's first autumn as President he said, "I could see where you could have the exchange of tactical [nuclear] weapons against troops in the field without it bringing either one of the nuclear powers to pushing the button."

Second, the fictional American President, who has just defeated Walter Mondale, "agreed at once that immediate retaliation was necessary" and gave no thought to other responses that would have been less barbaric and possibly more effective. If Sir John feels any practical or ethical qualms about immediate retaliation ordered "to avoid a catastrophic decline in civilian and military morale," he does not discuss them.

Third, in retaliation for the explosion of a nuclear bomb over Birmingham, the United States and Britain loose perhaps a dozen nuclear warheads on Minsk, the consequences of which are "many times worse." Hackett expresses no grief

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Members of The Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers International Union Local 203 T

We want you to know our industry is threatened—not by foreign competition or old-fashioned technology—but by well-meaning people who haven't stopped to consider how their actions might affect others.

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or remorse over the disproportionate Western response. In fact, he tells us that when the Russians were deciding to explode their nuclear bomb, they reasoned: "It had to be expected that some retaliation would occur, but if the signals were understood this should be limited to a more or less comparable strike." One must infer that Hackett considers the allied retaliation meet and just.

Fourth, in 1980 George Bush said that a nuclear war is winnable, and Reagan agreed that "you could start again" after such a war. By 1983 Reagan was declaring that "a nuclear war cannot be won," but according to a Pentagon five-year Defense Guidance leaked in 1982, the United States "must prevail" in a nuclear war. In the book the President values, a nuclear war is won by the United States and its allies, leaving a "defeated" Soviet Union.

Fifth, in Hackett's war the joint U.S.-British nuclear attack is calculated "to spark off the explosions in subject nations which were in the end to bring the Soviet Union down." The nuclear exchange "proved to be the trigger which set off the smouldering nationalist explosion." Hackett's nuclear war is not merely won, it is triumphantly won. Writing as if in 1987, he muses, "What especially distinguishes the scene we now see about us is . . . the absence from it of the powerful, restless, baleful, expansive, intractably dogmatic imperialism of Soviet Russia."

That brings to mind Reagan's March 1983 speech to the National Association of Evangelicals: not the widely publicized declaration that the Russians are the "focus of evil" in the modern world but the little-noticed peroration. Since the spiritual source of our strength in the cause of human freedom has no limitations, Reagan told the evangelicals, it "must terrify and ultimately triumph" over the totalitarians.

Seen not as a novel in the usual sense but as a parable (which is the way one guesses that Reagan sees it), Hackett's book teaches that the Russians may well invade Western Europe, that they are ready and willing to use nuclear weapons against cities, that the United States and Great Britain should retaliate against one Soviet nuclear bomb on a Western city with about a dozen on a Soviet city and that the glory-be consequences of such a war of conventional, chemical and nuclear weapons could be the final end of the Soviet empire. In short, limited nuclear war leads not to the end of life in the Northern Hemisphere but to victory for the West.

In Hackett's 1982 sequel, *The Third World War: The Untold Story*, he doctors the facts in very suggestive ways but keeps his main story line intact.* Reviewing the sequel in *The New York Times*, Christopher Lehmann-Haupt called attention to "a lot of wishful thinking involved in the general's scenario." The disintegration of the Soviet empire, Lehmann-Haupt continued, "is just highly exhilarating as an exercise in fantasy. It's almost dizzying to contemplate a world in which the Soviet empire is no longer a threatening presence."

In the President's canon, another text helps further explain his high regard for Hackett's book. Between 1975 and 1979 Reagan made hundreds of short radio broadcasts. In one of those in 1975, the year before his first campaign for the Presidency, he gave his overview about the conflict with the Russians:

> The Russians have told us over and over again their goal is to impose their incompetent and ridiculous system on the world. We invest in armaments to hold them off, but what do we envision as the eventual outcome? Either that they will see the fallacy of their way and give up their goal, or their system will collapse, or (and we don't let ourselves think of this) we'll have to use our weapons one day.

As we read *The Third World War*, we do "let ourselves think of this." That is why Ronald Reagan regards General Hackett's book as important for his work as President of the United States. □

* Hackett names his collaborators, now including Soviet émigrés Viktor Suvorov and Vladimir Bukovsky. Making "some adjustment to the record," Hackett backs off from the four-missile, multiple-warhead attack on Minsk. Now it is "four missiles, each of between 200 and 300 kilotons." Although Minsk is "totally destroyed," only 50,000 people are "killed instantly," one-sixth the number so killed in Birmingham, and the suffering in Minsk is given five pages. Minsk is said to have been chosen "because of its general comparability with Birmingham." The Western peace movements are alleged to have been orchestrated and subsidized by the Soviet Union (and in the United States, by Cuba as well). The collapse of Fidel Castro and the emergence of a non-Communist Cuba are added benefits of the war.

PROPOSITION 41 ET AL.

California's Hot Initiatives

MARY ELLEN LEARY

San Francisco

As California Democrats see it, there is more at stake in the upcoming election than the 270 electoral votes Walter Mondale needs to win the Presidency. The party's future in the state is on the line. Ironically, six propositions on the ballot, which are generating more heat than the Presidential contest and which Democrats fear will weaken their party if they pass, could save Walter Mondale's skin.

The Mondale-Ferraro campaign is sputtering damply in California. The party faithful, who were so full of energy after the national convention in San Francisco in July, are suffering burnout. October's hope has warmed but not rekindled party confidence. Contributing to the anxiety is the home-state advantage Ronald Reagan enjoys, coupled with the tepid support for Mondale among state Democrats, who favored Hart in the primary.

The most controversial of the initiatives, Proposition 41, could make the Democrats angry enough to come out and vote against it—and for Mondale. Certainly it will be a test of just how conservative the California electorate has become after four years of Reagan. Appealingly described as "welfare reform" by its backers, Proposition 41 would authorize severe cuts in public assistance, to fall most heavi-

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ly on women and children, the elderly and the disabled. Lieut. Gov. Leo McCarthy, a Democrat, calls it "the cruelest and most radical attack on the needy" he has come across in his political experience. And Mary Jane Merrill, president of the state's League of Women Voters, says it is "a blatant attack on the physical well-being of California's low-income women and children."

According to a study by legislative analyst William G. Hamm, the proposed cuts would reduce payments under Aid to Families with Dependent Children (affecting 1 million children) by 60 percent, and state assistance to the elderly, blind and disabled by 36 percent. For example, Hamm hypothesizes that monthly payments of $506 to a mother with two children might be cut back to as little as $223. Total savings to the taxpayers could come to more than $3 billion annually, but it would be accomplished by shifting much of the burden of funding these programs from the Federal and state governments to county authorities, put on tight budgets as a result of Proposition 13.

The initiative states that California's total welfare budget should exceed the average of those in the other forty-nine states by not more than 10 percent, an acknowledgment of the state's higher cost of living. Proponents charge that the average payments to welfare recipients in California are twice that of other states.

Many observers here compare the potential impact of Proposition 41 to that of Proposition 13, which touched off a wave of tax-cutting referendums across the land in 1978.

"Proposition 41 would be devastating," says Lindy Graham, administrative aide to U.S. Representative Howard Berman. "There is enough sentiment against welfare across the country to make such a precedent trigger a wave of antiwelfare lawmaking. It is a frightening possibility."

The initiative was drafted by Ross Johnson, a Republican State Assemblyman, after he had failed to get welfare reductions past the Democratic majority in the legislature. "California's welfare system is an expensive and unfair failure," Johnson says. "Unfair to the truly needy, unfair to the taxpayer."

To the Democrats, Proposition 41 represents a threat to the entire system of caring for the disadvantaged, which they prevented even Ronald Reagan from cutting when he was Governor. It has united them more than any other issue this year, and they are mobilizing against it. Many party fliers and mailers carry an admonition to vote no.

Assemblywoman Maxine Waters, who led the Rev. Jesse Jackson's primary drive in California, says that the issue is galvanizing the poor. "Once people understand what it would do, they are not just alerted, they are *inspired*," she says. "They want to vote and they want to get others to vote. It isn't the distant Presidency that matters. Suddenly the minorities, the young mothers, the elderly, the blind and disabled discover they have a personal stake in this election. It has turned the whole of politics around for them."

State officials acknowledge that although California has 11 percent of the nation's population, its A.F.D.C. budget comes to 21 percent of the national total. Matching Federal and state Social Security payments that augment medical insurance reimbursements for those particularly needy among the elderly and disabled are 22 percent of the national expenditure. These high levels reflect a tradition of compassion for the needy that goes back to the New Deal. But California's higher A.F.D.C. payments can also be attributed to a cost-of-living supplement and to the state's rapid growth in population. California also has a large proportion of Asian refugees on public assistance.

Proposition 41 is not the only issue sending off sparks in this election year. California's tradition of nonpartisanship in politics has been superseded by the bitterest partisan antipathy the state has experienced in more than a generation. Although voters are not as caught up in the warring spirit as officeholders and party officials are, Democrats and Republicans are having at each other.

The Democratic base is twofold: the legislature, both houses of which the party dominates and where friction with Republican Governor George Deukmejian and the Republican minority is a fact of political life; and the electorate, a significant majority of which is Democratic. A vigorous G.O.P. voter registration drive has shaved the Democratic bulge fractionally but has not shifted the balance. In September, 52.6 percent of California voters identified themselves as Democrats and 35.9 percent said they were Republicans. Voters, however, are quite at ease about crossing party lines, so the Democratic margin gives Mondale no reason for optimism. The state has not favored a Democrat for President since it went for Lyndon Johnson in 1964. Previous to that, Republicans had won every election since 1948, when Harry Truman took the state.

The Republicans hold the Governor's office, which Deukmejian narrowly won two years ago over Democratic Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley. Deukmejian emphasizes frugality, recently vetoing more than 300 Democrat-favored bills, citing economy as his reason. A second G.O.P. strong point is money. Republicans in California have perfected the art of raising funds from rank-and-file supporters through direct mail campaigns. Their coded lists of donors, large and small, can be relied on to gush forth millions of dollars when tapped.

While the Presidential race grinds along, the television and radio advertisements, the cajoling of endorsers, the clamor of argument, the hype and excitement, center to a marked degree on the ballot measures that encapsulate the partisan struggle.

Of the other initiatives on the California ballot, two are of minor interest: one proposes a state lottery and the other, an end to bilingual ballots. (Another would have required a California petition for a balanced Federal budget but was eliminated as unconstitutional by the state's Supreme Court.) A third is sponsored by that jowly curmudgeon Howard Jarvis, who is seeking to revive his popularity by battening the Proposition 13 hatches tighter. He raised $2 million to put the measure on the ballot and promises to spend $3 million before Election Day to get it passed. Jarvis was irritated by court rulings that enabled local governments to tap other sources of revenue after Proposition 13 reduced

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property taxes. His Proposition 36 would restrict the collection of fees-for-service, on which California local governments widely rely to keep running. It would also forbid using revenues from property taxes for public pension funds. The impact Proposition 36 could have on city and county operations has alarmed business people, and major organizations, including the California Taxpayers Association, strongly oppose it. They fear that the quality of life in the state will deteriorate drastically if sources of revenue are cut further. Jarvis's initial expectation was that the new tax cut would capture headlines, but the negative reaction to it and the partisan controversy touched off by other initiatives have put it in the shade.

The two final Republican-sponsored initiatives are designed to hit Democrats where it would hurt them most. One measure, drawn up at Governor Deukmejian's behest, would erase the Democratic-dominated legislature's control over political districting in California by creating a commission of retired appellate court judges to take up the task. Judges, being officially nonpartisan in California elections, are thought likely to change the gerrymandered districting, which has advantaged the Democrats. The other initiative would impose limits on campaign fund-raising in a way that would handicap Democrats more than Republicans. It would limit individual donations to $1,000. Ostensibly intended to strike a blow against the power of big money, the measure would also benefit the Republicans: they get the bulk of their contributions from small-scale donors, while the Democrats rely on a few big contributors in business and in the entertainment world.

Ordinarily such measures would arouse little interest among voters. But both parties see them as tests of strength. Having concocted the initiatives, Republicans feel they are in command, but if the Democrats can provoke rank-and-file anger, they can make a fight of it. If enough now-apathetic Democrats get stirred up to vote on these ballot measures, especially Proposition 41, they might shift the Presidential tide in America's most populous state. □

Candidates

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

in conventional arms for Europe, such as sophisticated deep-penetration antiarmor missiles. Reagan would do so because the Pentagon and the contractors want them, and Mondale would do so to compensate for any reductions negotiated with the Soviet Union in tactical nuclear munitions.

§ *Defense spending.* When all is said and done, the candidates' defense budgets would not be too far apart in total dollar amounts. Reagan could not raise defense spending much faster without producing strong resistance from those business and legislative circles that seek to reduce the Federal deficit. Mondale could not significantly lessen the rate of increase without encountering strong resistance from communities with major defense contracts. Moreover, Mondale's commitment to E.T. weapons will probably wipe out any savings achieved through the cancellation of major nuclear programs.

Those limits having been described, we turn to the areas in which the candidates differ.

§ *Space weapons.* Perhaps the most critical difference between the candidates is on the issue of space weaponry. Reagan is firmly wedded to his so-called Star Wars program, while Mondale advocates a ban on such systems. In the next four years, Reagan could lend so much momentum to the program that it would prove nearly impossible for his successor, from either party, to halt it. At present, spending on Star Wars systems is relatively modest, an estimated $2 billion in fiscal 1985. By the end of a Reagan second term, however, it could climb to $25 billion or more annually, creating a web of corporate and political interests that would resist any effort to cancel the program.

A U.S. military thrust into space could have grave consequences. Although it is unlikely that any of the proposed weapons would be operational in this century, if ever, their development over the next twenty years would increase anxiety in the Soviet Union and could provoke the Russians to undertake a major expansion of their nuclear arsenal, exposing the United States to greater danger. An American drive into space would also lend credibility to hard-line proposals that the United States develop a first-strike nuclear capability and would further encourage the opponents of arms control agreements with the Russians.

§ *"Counterforce" weapons and the nuclear arms race.* While the Star Wars program has become the primary issue in the nuclear debate, there have been several other worrisome developments in the past year. Particularly significant is the Administration's decision to proceed with production of the MX missile and the Trident 2 submarine-launched ballistic missile. Deployment of those highly accurate weapons, if approved by Congress, would provide the United States with a substantial counterforce capability; that is, a capacity to destroy Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles in their hardened underground silos. Many experts believe that the acquisition of such a capability would greatly increase the risk of a nuclear conflict, since each side might be tempted to shoot first during a crisis rather than risk destruction of its ICBMs. A major decision facing U.S. leaders will be whether or not to deploy those weapons.

Reagan favors deployment of the MX, Trident 2 and other counterforce weapons, while Mondale would scrap the MX altogether and ban most of the others in a nuclear freeze agreement with the Soviet Union. What Mondale would do if he could not negotiate such a freeze is less clear. While he opposes the introduction of counterforce weapons on general principle, he has so far refused to rule out deployment of the Trident 2.

On another key nuclear issue, the deployment of Pershing 2s and cruise missiles in Western Europe, a similar pattern emerges. Reagan would continue deployment in the absence of an agreement with the Russians, an agreement that is un-

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likely to be reached so long as the missiles continue to be installed. Mondale says he will suspend deployment of the Pershings to induce Soviet support for the Vienna "walk in the woods" formula, which would reduce the number of intermediate-range missile launchers on each side until parity was achieved. Here again, it is hard to predict Mondale's behavior in the absence of a U.S.-Soviet agreement, but his commitment to negotiations—and willingness to offer the Russians a concrete sign of U.S. restraint—stands in sharp contrast to the Reagan approach.

§ *SLCMs and the nuclear "firebreak."* Perhaps the most momentous military development of 1984 has been the deployment of Tomahawk sea-launched cruise missiles on U.S. ships and submarines, which began in June. The Administration plans to place 758 nuclear-armed SLCMs and 3,236 conventionally armed Tomahawks on some 150 U.S. warships (including four recommissioned World War II battleships). Many experts consider the Tomahawk a highly destabilizing weapon. It straddles the nuclear firebreak (the barrier between conventional and nuclear weapons) because it can carry either nuclear or conventional warheads. The interchangeability feature also presents verification problems to any arms pact that seeks to limit SLCM deployment.

Mondale has shown himself to be considerably more aware of the importance of preserving the firebreak than Reagan has. The Democratic candidate has promised a moratorium on the deployment of the Tomahawk pending talks with the Soviet Union aimed at a total ban. He has pledged to seek a mutual pullback of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact forces, a move which would greatly reduce the risk that those weapons will be used in the first few days of a European conflict. President Reagan, meanwhile, favors massive deployment of the Tomahawk and the introduction of "neutron" artillery shells in Europe.

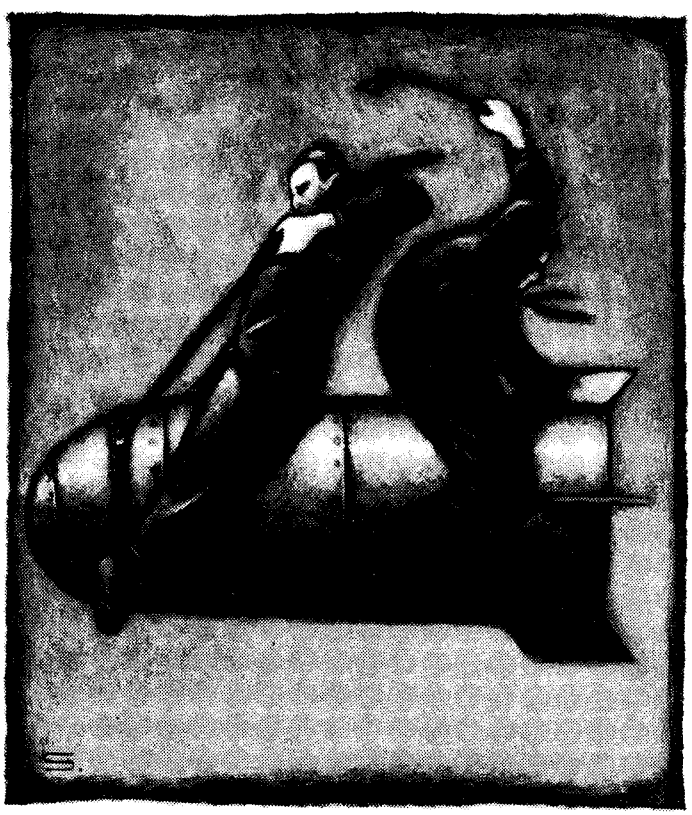
§ *Arms control and the U.S.-Soviet relationship.* Reagan harbors a deep and abiding hostility to arms control agreements with the Soviet Union. He opposed the 1963 atmospheric test-ban treaty, the 1968 nuclear nonproliferation treaty, the SALT I agreement and antiballistic missile treaty and the proposed SALT II agreement. Since coming to office, he has suspended talks on a comprehensive test-ban treaty and scuttled efforts to ratify the already-signed threshold test-ban treaty (prohibiting nuclear explosions of over 150 kilotons). In pursuit of his Star Wars defense he is prepared to abrogate the 1972 ABM treaty.

Walter Mondale's oft-reiterated dedication to arms control can be given greater credibility than Reagan's recent campaign conversion. He has pledged to make improved U.S.-Soviet relations the number-one priority of his Administration and has reaffirmed his support for the ABM treaty, the SALT II agreement, the comprehensive test-ban treaty and the proposed ban on antisatellite weapons. Moreover, he has offered to take a number of unilateral initiatives to heighten Soviet interest in such agreements, including moratoriums on the testing and deployment of new nuclear weapons, on the testing of space weapons, on underground nuclear testing and on the deployment of sea-launched cruise missiles. Those steps would surely strike a responsive chord in Moscow and could invite the serious arms control discussions that have eluded the Reagan Administration.

The candidates also differ on the kind of language and posture they feel this country should adopt in its dealings with the Soviet Union. Although Reagan proffered an olive branch to Moscow in his recent speech at the United Nations, his Administration has been characterized by a highly belligerent attitude. The Russians undoubtedly expect a certain amount of anti-Soviet rhetoric from any American President, especially one as conservative as Ronald Reagan, but they are not going to sit down at the bargaining table when such rhetoric is accompanied by indications of a deep-seated desire to eradicate the Soviet system altogether. So while the President may talk of improved U.S.-Soviet relations, he will not make much progress in that direction unless he is prepared to repudiate his earlier denunciations.

While not hesitant to condemn Soviet behavior in Afghanistan and Poland, Mondale has consistently affirmed the need to conduct U.S.-Soviet affairs on a stable, businesslike basis. "The superpowers cannot communicate by growling through megaphones," he declared in January. "As President, I will propose regular annual summit conferences with the head of the Soviet Union, and I will push for regular contacts between military and Cabinet officers of both countries." That may not seem like much, but it suggests a different style of doing business, and style could prove critical in promoting U.S.-Soviet arms negotiations.

§ *Central America.* The U.S. role in that part of the world, likely to be one of the most divisive and difficult issues of the next few years, is also one of the hardest to



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analyze in terms of the candidates' views. Officially, both Reagan and Mondale oppose the introduction of U.S. combat forces into the region and support negotiations under the auspices of the Contadora group. Both also favor stepped-up U.S. aid for President José Napoleón Duarte's regime in El Salvador. Within that framework, however, there are some notable differences in approach. Mondale appears to place heavier emphasis on negotiations, while Reagan has tended to favor gunboat diplomacy.

The candidates are rather far apart on other key points. Reagan favors continued U.S. aid to the anti-Sandinista *contras*, while Mondale has pledged to terminate such assistance. Reagan has also promised to resume the highly provocative series of military maneuvers he initiated in 1982, whereas Mondale has condemned such tactics.

Would Reagan authorize U.S. intervention if other measures failed to prevent a guerrilla takeover in El Salvador? Would Mondale? At this point, what each would do in that situation is difficult to determine. Certainly the U.S. build-up in Honduras suggests Reagan's distinct readiness to engage in large-scale military operations in the area, but it is possible that opposition from Congress, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Honduras itself would militate against his doing so. And though Mondale has denounced Reagan's saber rattling in Central America, he has not fully ruled out a direct U.S. military role. At one point during the contest for the Democratic nomination, he chided Senator Gary Hart for proposing to "unilaterally withdraw from Central America" and "pull the plug on the region." More recently, Mondale has threatened to "quarantine" Nicaragua if it fails to curb its support for revolutionary activity in the region. Given these uncertainties, stance and language may again prove critical: by stressing the importance of negotiations and assigning pre-eminence to the Contadora process, Mondale shows that he would favor the sort of peaceful solution that Reagan has largely succeeded in thwarting.

§ *Presidential advisers.* To a greater degree than his predecessors, President Reagan has delegated foreign policy decision-making to his aides, and he is likely to do so even more frequently during a second term. It is in this area, perhaps more than in any other, that a sharp contrast between the candidates emerges. Reagan has tended to surround himself with people who are ardent foes of arms control talks with the Russians, while Mondale has selected advisers with a strong commitment to nuclear arms control.

That is not to say Mondale's key aides are starry-eyed idealists. Most of them are former Carter functionaries who take decidedly conventional, centrist positions. David Aaron, Mondale's chief foreign policy adviser, served as an aide to Zbigniew Brzezinski; Walter Slocombe, an important military adviser, served as Deputy Under Secretary of Defense to Harold Brown, himself an adviser to the Mondale camp. But if Mondale's brain trust comes from the center of the national security spectrum, Reagan's comes from the far right, from a fervently anti-Soviet camp that until 1981 had been largely excluded from policy-making after the darkest days of the cold war. Termed "zealots" by former Central Intelligence Agency official Arthur Macy Cox because of their fierce determination to diminish Soviet power whatever the cost, they include Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, Under Secretary of Defense Fred C. Iklé, Navy Secretary John F. Lehman Jr., chief arms control negotiator Kenneth L. Adelman and U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick.

The zealots have been counterbalanced to some degree by the pragmatists on Reagan's staff, who, in fact, are largely responsible for his election-year advocacy of improved U.S.-Soviet relations. If Reagan is re-elected, however, and especially if he is re-elected by a wide margin, the zealots will perceive a fresh "mandate" to intensify their drive against the Soviet Union and its allies. This could entail stepped-up assaults on the government of Nicaragua; increased covert operations against pro-Soviet regimes in Africa and the Middle East; provocative military exercises in the Caribbean, Indian Ocean and Northwest Pacific; and U.S.-backed counterinsurgency operations in Guatemala, the Sudan, the Philippines and other nations ruled by pro-U.S. dictatorships. It will certainly mean an uncompromising stance on arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union and a renewed propensity to engage in military risk-taking in the Third World. In the context of the Reagan policies previously described, this fanaticism could increase the risk of nuclear conflagration.

So much, then, for the specific issues. How do we fit all this together to arrive at a final evaluation of the candidates? For those to whom the issue of war and peace is fundamental in 1984, the foregoing analysis leads to a safe prediction: Walter Mondale will not end the arms race, but he might create the sort of environment that would permit significant progress toward new U.S.-Soviet restrictions on the deployment of more dangerous nuclear munitions. Ronald Reagan will proceed with the development of counterforce and space weapons, thereby intensifying the arms race and discouraging the renewal of arms control negotiations.

For some, this will be sufficient ground for rejecting the prospect of a second Reagan Administration. For others, who may be dubious about a Mondale Presidency, there is still the issue of the Presidential advisers. However we interpret the positions of the candidates themselves, we must also consider the views of their closest advisers. I, for one, will never feel safe with a clique of zealots making decisions that could mean the difference between war and peace. □

FOOTNOTE ON AN HISTORIC CASE: IN RE ALGER HISS

This just-published booklet by author William A. Reuben identifies 114 factual errors in the Federal District Court of New York's 1982 decision upholding Hiss's conviction for perjury in 1950. This flawed decision, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1983, stands as the last legal word on one of the most celebrated cases in modern history. 1 copy $5, 10 copies $40, 50 copies $150, 100 copies $250. Make checks payable to The Nation Institute and send to "Hiss," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Real Miss Manners

MARJORIE SHOSTAK

MARGARET MEAD: A Life. *By Jane Howard. Simon & Schuster. 527 pp. $19.95.*

WITH A DAUGHTER'S EYE. *By Mary Catherine Bateson. William Morrow. 242 pp. $15.95.*

"Fiddlesticks! Rubbish! Nonsense!" the grandmotherly woman in the scarlet cape proclaimed as she banged her forked walking stick, punctuating her presence and her ideas. "I'm so exhausted," she also once said. "If only I could give a lecture." Margaret Mead's public life was, as these quotations attest, colorful, courageous and adventurous; her research was original and controversial. Her private life--three marriages, three divorces, one child and countless friends both eminent and obscure—added to the mystique that surrounded her, as did the fact that by the time she was 40 she was already a legend.

How did a woman in what was then the relatively unknown discipline of anthropology become so famous? What sort of person unabashedly sought the public arena to further her reputation and that of her profession? What inspired this woman, whose bibliography includes thirty-nine books, 1,397 articles and forty-three records, tapes, films and videotapes? Equally intriguing are questions about her private life. Was she, as her biographer says, able to "shift gears as often as she did, personally and professionally, without destroying her transmission"? Could she really have switched husbands with as much grace as she herself described in *Blackberry Winter*, her autobiography covering the years until just after World War II?

Those are some of the questions Jane Howard poses in *Margaret Mead: A Life*, as she follows the emergence, development and decline of Mead's professional, public and private worlds. Not satisfied with the wealth of materials available in the public domain (more than a half-million documents were filed with the Library of Congress after Margaret Mead's death; others will become available in the year 1999), Howard interviewed more than 300 people, including Mead's two living ex-husbands, Gregory Bateson and Luther Cressman (her second husband, Reo Fortune, died in 1979), as well as her relatives, friends, associates and students. The result is an intimate rendering of a life surely as idiosyncratic and true to its internal laws as that of any exotic tribe Margaret Mead visited. Although not an anthropologist, Howard ably outlines the development of Mead's ideas and gives credit to the influence of her many mentors and colleagues.

But who was Margaret Mead? Howard makes a valiant attempt at reassembling the person for us, but no one, not even Mead's daughter, Mary Catherine Bateson, claims to have known more than a small part of the woman. A close companion explains: "Hers was the most complex life imaginable. She had so many fingers in so many pies, and was behind the scenes on so many levels." Her professional activities alone were staggering. A condensed list of them, not necessarily concurrent, goes something like this: lecturing at Columbia University (where she was perhaps too liberal in handing out A's); supervising graduate students; giving countless guest lectures throughout the world; being a curator at the American Museum of Natural History; serving as president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; attending numerous professional meetings; acting as a consultant for the United Nations, the World Council of Churches, Planned Parenthood, the Menninger Foundation and the Merrill-Palmer Institute. As an authority on rites of passage, she was even a consultant on sections dealing with baptism and confirmation for a revision of the Book of Common Prayer. Between times she managed to make fourteen field trips.

Perhaps it was Mead's fiercely cultivated public presence that set her apart from her more retiring colleagues. Her public debut came with the publication of *Coming of Age in Samoa* in 1928. The book's success was as spectacular as it was unexpected. And it was so because there she confronted a subject few could be blasé about. That style of confrontation and controversy was to become something of a trademark with her. In Samoan youth she saw a striking contrast to the crisis and turmoil typical of Western adolescence. Characteristically, she was not reluctant to draw a broad inference: she proposed that there was little in our biological nature that culture could not bend to its own image, not even the trauma of adolescence. A similar theme appeared in her *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, where she described sex roles and gender identity as varying so dramatically among three "primitive" cultures that the smugness of our own beliefs about the biological imperatives of maleness and femaleness was completely undermined. And this in 1935!

Dedicated to bringing the cross-cultural perspective to bear on every aspect of American life, Mead hoped to impress policy-makers with the importance of appreciating human diversity and cultural differences. As she became less and less concerned with extending her scientific inquiry, the desire to persuade people outside her field of the importance of her views grew apace. To this end, Mead made frequent appearances on Johnny Carson's *Tonight Show* and wrote a monthly column for *Redbook*. She used television to bring the idea of cultural relativism out of the classroom and into people's living rooms. With time, her scope of activity and concern widened: she defended young people, marched beside them during the tumultuous 1960s and propounded liberal views on divorce, marriage, population control, racism, marijuana; she also persistently warned people to heed the impact of technology on their lives. She soon became, in Rollo May's words, "a self-appointed queen, at whose feet young people would sit with great admiration." As time went on, she became a messenger, then a prophet. The public soon sought her as much as, if not more than, she sought them.

Marjorie Shostak, author of Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman *(Harvard University Press/Vintage), is a research associate in the Graduate Institute of the Liberal Arts at Emory University.*

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Surely some of her enthusiasm for public forums was born of her insatiable need to be near other people. "I never had enough companionship," she explained about her youth. She craved contact and loved being involved in people's lives, but she didn't let anyone come too close; she was always eager to move on. When friends asked why she never stopped to relax, she answered, "I *can't* stop." Yet despite her ever-increasing circle of friends (her Christmas card list included well over 500 names), there was another side. One of her friends described her as being "pervaded by deep loneliness, and although she never admitted it, she was very vulnerable too. She . . . gave generously . . . but she rarely sought support." Her unremitting need to work, to produce and to be in the center of things prompted Barbara Walters to describe her as "the most independent woman in the world" (just moments after the two women confided in each other some of the difficulties and lonelinesses of their lives).

Not everyone loved and admired Margaret Mead, and she certainly had her share of disappointments. She did not win a Nobel Peace Prize; she was not elected a member of the National Academy of Sciences until very near the end of her life; she was not offered a full professorship at Columbia until 1958 (she declined it); many of her colleagues thought her fraudulent, criticized her for being a popularizer, for moving too easily from the particular to the universal and for having little or no data on the array of contemporary issues she readily discussed. They criticized her for being outrageous, which she frequently was.

Moreover, she was difficult. People who worked with her were known to break down in tears. A patron to many, she encouraged professionalism and self-esteem, but she could also be overbearing, cantankerous, egotistical, argumentative and explosive. And when she was threatened, according to Asen Balikci, the distinguished filmmaker and ethnographer of the Eskimo, "She could be ruthless [with men] . . . if she disliked them and disagreed with them, she could devour them on sight—she didn't want any other big animals coming close." Howard describes Mead's having been so angry at a graduate student that she "told him that if he did not retract his reply to what she had written, she would 'knock your block off and ruin your career.'"

Even as an anthropologist, she was atypical. Few before or since have encompassed so many cultures in their studies and have been so uninterested in collecting art and artifacts from the field. Few have so staunchly upheld the hierarchical relationship between the native community and the anthropologist. In the field, she once advised a student, "You must . . . keep up white prestige." Another student reported that she trained the natives "to leave when the tablecloths and dishes came out." She didn't invite the people she studied into her house, nor did they make such gestures to her.

And for the world's most independent woman, Mead had an uneasy time with feminism. On the one hand, connections forged with women—as friends, colleagues, assistants and, occasionally, lovers—characterized her life and ultimately proved more stable than her alliances with men. Some of these women took care of her household, her schedule, her office; others devoted themselves to mothering her daughter while she worked and traveled. On the other hand, she held some very traditional views about women. She denied being a feminist, belittled the implications of the war between the sexes, made fun of attempts to change sexism in language and never fully endorsed the women's movement.

"I don't believe all these women fifty

AGAINST REMBRANDT

I see them in all the great cities,
a patina on the golden frames,
the sitters in Amsterdam's sunset, shown
at an hour wound by the hand
of a painter growing old.

You can recognize them at once.
Not by their rank or repute, those
enclosed in archives and files.
But by what they invariably wear:
earth colors for earth's processes

from first dust unto last.
My sole reproach to the master.
There's no legacy there to others.
No lesson of touch or tone.
No matter how rich the turban, lavish

the lace, the pigments rush to the core
of one event, mainly—the certain
evidence of what's human:
the advent of a face.
What lesson is there to learn

about the decomposing heart in paint?
There, under our eyes, the bite
of sorrow, doubt, of those who looked
and knew, their eyes turned charcoal, burnt
with what they knew, even as they sat.

There's no craft to fire, once lit.
It glows, sputters, dies.
No technique to their swept lives,
those men and women in simple blows
of earth, fire, dust,

and no attempt at an answer
to what Leonardo, before a skull,
asked its ash-white, socketed bones,
"Dimmi." Tell me. Tell—
Just these gourd-gold, earth-brown tones.

Anne Atik Arikha

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years old who haven't tried anything but marriage and children, who talk about how they've been discriminated against, because on the whole none of them have done anything else," she said. When offered the presidency of a large university, she commented, "Women make poor administrators," and at another time observed that "restlessness and groping" seem "inherent in the nature of women."

She herself experienced discrimination at the American Museum of Natural History, where she was not made a full curator until she was 63, and at Columbia, where the postponed professorship meant she was entitled to only a very small pension. Yet in each case she was accommodating: "I wasn't about to fight about it [her pension] when the men in the department had a wife and child to support." Who did she imagine was supporting her child and "extended family"?

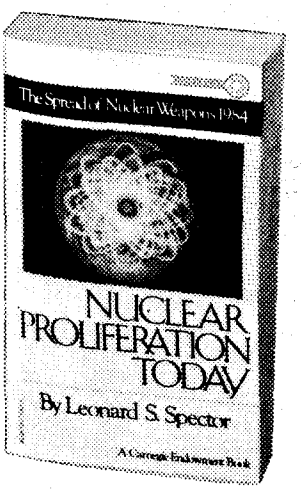
But there was also another side to her views on women. "You do *not* need a man," she told a newly widowed woman with three small children. "I married a man, and it was disaster, the way we competed." A house thick with people was what she recommended: take boarders. To a graduate student she once said, "I don't care if you have six husbands or not . . . for several years you've spent entirely too much time becoming a woman and not enough becoming a person." Even Betty Friedan, who, with dubious accuracy, criticized Mead for glorifying women's traditional "biological" roles, recognized that Mead had played a part in the movement by getting "us all so preoccupied with 'fulfillment.'" Her editor at *Redbook* said that Mead's contribution was the example she set: "You can be what you set out to be, but first you must set out." Mead herself kept a quotation from William Blake in her wallet: "No bird soars too high, if he soars with his own wings."

Jane Howard's approach to these many contradictions is to assemble them as parts of a jigsaw puzzle and hope they come together into a convincing picture. But all too often the puzzle seems to be made up of pieces that are too small. Irrelevant bits of conversation and numerous repetitions disrupt the whole, as does the attempt to cover so many of the particulars of Mead's life. Ultimately the mystery of Margaret Mead—the private person behind the public one—eludes Howard.

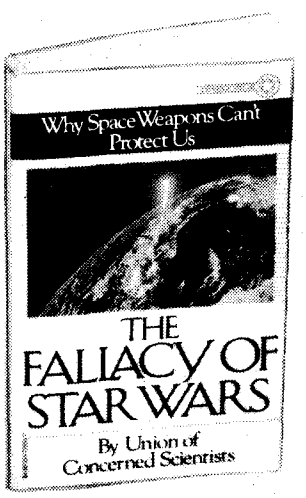
TWO NEW VINTAGE SPECIALS

The spread of nuclear weapons 1984

Who are today's emerging nuclear powers? How close are they to the nuclear threshold? This authoritative, country-by-country review, the first in a series of annual reports on this critical problem, answers these questions with the most up-to-date information currently available. Illustrated. *A Carnegie Endowment Book.*



Why space weapons can't protect us



The idea of overcoming the threat of a nuclear attack by putting protective weapons in outer space continues to be a lively issue. In an effort to bridge the alarming gap in public understanding of precisely what such schemes involve, Union of Concerned Scientists, an independent, non-profit organization, addresses the question in terms the layman can understand, tracing the origins of space weapons and the basis of the continuing debate between the Administration and the scientific community over the feasibility of such programs. Illustrated.

Other Vintage Specials

ENDLESS WAR
How We Got Involved in Central America and What Can Be Done
by JAMES CHACE

THE RUSSIANS AND REAGAN
How the Russians Perceive the Administration's Foreign Policy
by STROBE TALBOTT. *A Council on Foreign Relations Book.*

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VINTAGE'S 30TH ANNIVERSARY YEAR

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It is, of course, in the nature of biography to leave the reader with questions. But Howard's biography leaves too many large ones unanswered: Mead's bisexuality and abiding relationships with male and female lovers are mentioned only obliquely and sometimes in a disconcertingly snide tone. We do not hear about the deaths of Mead's mother and father; the death of her mentor, Ruth Benedict, is mentioned only in passing. Of Mead's discovery of the body of her sister who had committed suicide, we are told that she cleaned up the blood and called the police and that the death "brought her grief, but not guilt. She did what she felt was right and did not brood." We are told that she was less upset by her sister's suicide than she was by her brother's death of pancreatic cancer, the disease that would kill her three years later, but we are told no more. Even of Mead the mother we hear surprisingly little, much of it incidental. The distance Howard maintains is surprising; it is almost as though Mead were still capable of holding people, especially a biographer, at arm's length. Nevertheless, Howard's account is authoritative and comprehensive—all in all, an impressive document.

Mary Catherine Bateson, the daughter of Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson, and an anthropologist in her own right, manages the problem of distance better, filling in many areas Howard carefully avoids, without coming uncomfortably close. *With a Daughter's Eye* does not pretend to objectivity. It is, rather, the disarmingly honest narrative of an extremely sympathetic, thoughtful person who is trying to sort out for herself and for her audience the awesome individuals who were her parents. Her portrait is, above all, intimate, revealing as much about herself as about her parents:

> I have not read or reread all the published works of Mead and Bateson, neither of which I know completely, for to do so would be to remake myself as an expert instead of a daughter. . . . I have tried to weave my own ambivalence into this book, letting love and grief, longing and anger, lie close to the surface.

That she does, with style and eloquence. She was born in 1939, when her mother was 37, and her earliest memories are of her parents together, framed in the happiness of marital harmony. But when she was 2, her parents began to withdraw from each other and from her, and the time they spent away gradually increased. Although she was left in the care of loving friends, her early childhood was marked by occasional loneliness, yearning and fear, by "midnight demands for comfort." And those years are remembered for departures. "There were all those beloved people, yet often the people I wanted most were absent." When Bateson was 3, her mother went to England and stayed months longer than the child had anticipated; she felt betrayed. Her father was often gone as well. "I remember being demure and proper to see a father who was often absent, and then holding on to his raincoat and screaming when he had to leave." Howard refers to a letter Mead wrote to a friend about this period, describing how she had spent three uninterrupted days with her daughter, then just 4 years old, for the first time in two years.

After the war, when Bateson was 6, her mother "organized much of her life . . . around the tasks of being a parent," although she was still away quite often. It soon became clear to the girl that her parents' marriage was failing. A few years later, when they told her of the finality of their divorce, she "lay down on the ground and cried."

But she found ways of adapting. Moving "between a multiplicity of disconnected settings" became possible because she was "usually a well-behaved child, laughing and contented." She felt she had to be good, because "perhaps, if too many homecomings were marred, she [her mother] might prefer not to return." Bateson recalls unhappiness, lack of confidence and estrangement as part of her childhood, but adds: "There is no form of human child rearing that does not leave an occasional residue of fear and yearning."

Looking back, she also wonders whether the difficulties she had as an adolescent might have come from her mother's having adopted so many radical innovations in parenting without first thinking through the dangers they might entail. Wasn't there a risk, after all, that "some changed constellation of infant experience would set me at odds with my own society"?

Her childhood training caused her to observe and to reflect on life, even as she herself was being observed and reflected on. One reason she had difficulty writing this book was that so much had been discussed for so long. Yet her voice comes through: "As I write about my experience, I repossess it." There was little privacy in her childhood; it was filmed and recorded in many different ways by her parents. Asked by friends if it made her angry to have been so "public" a baby, with all the documented tickling, poking, bending, dangling and howling that went on, she answered, "No, here I am. I'm okay." But she is grateful that the careful record of her development was eventually broken off, making it less valuable than her mother had hoped. "It meant that her discussions of my childhood stayed within an anecdotal framework."

And "okay" she evidently is, although one has the sense that she cannot completely escape the powerful spirit of her mother. That so gentle a portrait should have been drawn of such ungentle people makes me think that Bateson is still adapting, still being the good girl, not complaining.

Yet given the number of embarrassingly vengeful books written about famous parents lately, Bateson's is a relief. Responding to the nastiness of Derek Freeman's recent attacks on her mother's work, Bateson writes, "There but for the grace of God go I." Elsewhere she comments, "My own experience has always been grist for the mill of analysis, and analysis has always been for me a way of dealing with emotion." Her analysis, in fact, covers a great many potentially explosive topics quite sedately. The most overtly negative emotions she expresses involve her mother's concealment of the diversity of her love life, especially two intimate relationships she sustained, one with a man and another with a woman. She admits anger at having been "deliberately deceived," but then backs off and blames herself for having inadvertently collaborated in the deception. She discusses her mother's bisexuality quite openly, unlike Howard, who doesn't quite deal with it. Bateson writes:

> What she carefully concealed, I have now decided to write and publish. . . . Children do not, I believe, belong in their parents' bedrooms, nor does the public belong in the bedrooms of those it has turned into public figures for their wit or their beauty or their wisdom. But Margaret Mead has walked in a thousand bedrooms, has been a touchstone for thousands of parents trying to understand the sexuality and sexual orientation of their children, has both helped and hindered women trying to understand

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themselves and their potential. Those who have attended to her words have, I believe, the right to know something of her experience.

Bateson has always worried that "because so much of her [Mead's] thought was expressed in my upbringing, there is a sense in which my own happiness has had to carry the burden of proof for many of her ideas." *With a Daughter's Eye* is impressive "proof" of a woman who, wanting it all, made sane and responsible choices to enable her daughter to grow strong while she herself flourished in worlds apart. Bateson's courage is very much in evidence in a book that must have been difficult to write.

As for Margaret Mead, scholars may criticize her work and argue about the value of her ideas, but her legacy continues to be tenacious. "If we are to achieve a richer culture," Mead wrote in *Sex and Temperament*, "rich in contrasting values, we must recognize the whole gamut of human potentialities, and so weave a less arbitrary social fabric, one in which each diverse human gift will find a fitting place." More than academic papers, biographies, memoirs, criticisms and affirmations, this is Margaret Mead's legacy at its simplest and its best. □

Countrification

ANDREW KOPKIND

Places in the Heart
Country
Paris, Texas

Every so often, Bloomingdale's runs an elaborate promotion that involves re-creating an exotic locale inside its cavernous confines, the better to sell the clothes and cosmetics of another culture to the shoppers on Manhattan's Upper East Side. A few weeks ago, for instance, the clientele could "drink in the ambience . . . of a Japanese country inn," and go home with kimonos, watches and whatnot. Another time, the setting might be the arid ambience of the Serengeti, where customers could see Masai nomads model Ralph Lauren's safari collection, and pick up a pith helmet or two for Saturday in the Hamptons.

It is just such a piece of retail magic that Robert Benton has worked in *Places in the Heart*, a beautifully designed, impeccably acted, perfectly shot, well-lit fraud of a movie which sells ambience by the carload to consumers rooted in a very different time and place. The locale is a cotton-growing corner of Texas, and the moment is mid-Depression. Benton grew up then and there, and the material of his film is supposed to recall scenes of his childhood: a sheriff shot to death by a drunken black man; the lawman's wife forced to fend for herself and feed the kids; mom's sister curling the neighbors' hair in her parlor and getting two-timed by a rakish husband; a tornado; a threatened bank foreclosure; and a race against time and migrant cotton pickers to win the prize for the earliest harvest. All of the above are included in one long parenthesis between religious symbols: hymns and steeples at the beginning, communion and apotheosis at the end.

Whether the details are founded in fact or are even true to Benton's recollection is finally beside the point. Chroniclers of Waxahachie County lore report that Benton's mother resembled the hair curler; and an aunt, the widowed cotton farmer. But these are not merely slices of a boy's life in Texas; they look more like elements of a deliberately marketed message. Movie consumers enter the lurid atmosphere (created in large part by Nestor Almendros's *fabulous* cinematography) and sample the ideological wares. They are, briefly, that (white) rural America is the heart of the nation, that (Christian) religion is its soul, that the (genetic) family unit is its body and blood, and that the wages of hard work will be doubled and tripled and the take-home pay will be enormous in the Sweet By-and-By—a folk hymn actually heard on the soundtrack.

If the shoppers of urban America buy those myths, I suppose they'll buy anything, even Kenzo kimonos for beachwear and stuffed wildebeests for the trophy room. For the goods here are phony like that. *Places in the Heart* draws on religion and American mythology to present its history as an archetype, when in fact it is an exception.

With hard, honest work and the help of cheap black labor, Edna Spalding (Sally Field) keeps the bank at bay. But

Alexander Cockburn on THE PRESS.
Andrew Kopkind on THE CULTURE WARS.
Stephen F. Cohen on THE SOVIET UNION.
Christopher Hitchens on WASHINGTON.
Bird and Holland on GLOBAL POLITICS.
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the fact is that the banks did foreclose on small farmers, so that agribusinesses (with massive government subsidies) now monopolize what cotton fields still exist. Tornadoes and other climatic acts of vengeance were wrought by an uncaring Deity to devastate the land and drive millions off it into Southern California country, where they found good jobs in aircraft factories and became Reagan Republicans. Edna practices a kind of patronizing populism toward eye-rolling, foot-shuffling, gospel-humming Moze (Danny Glover's humiliated handyman gets no last name). But in reality, Southern populism customarily showed its ugly, racist face, rejecting the notion of black and white together and institutionalizing separate and unequal. The family is hardly the bulwark Benton remembers, despite the current claims of post-feminists and politicians of both major parties. And religion has proved more divisive than uniting. The folks who sit side by side in Waxahachie's heavenly church would probably like to burn the books, determine the reproductive choices and straighten the sexual preferences of most of *Places'* trendy audience in the theater across from Bloomie's.

There's also a tornado in *Country*, Jessica Lange's film (for convenience, she can be called the *auteur*) about contemporary farm life in Iowa. Due north and half a century away from Benton's Texas, we find another bank foreclosure, more churches and hymns, nuclear family fallout, another race to harvest, a strong materfamilias with an emotionally absent husband and even some business with a handicapped neighbor, for the Gothic touch. But although *Country* and *Places in the Heart* share some character types, plot turns and long landscapes, the ambience and the message of the two films are strikingly different.

Country's Iowa is bleak and desolate, and even with cinematographer David Walsh's dramatic cornfields, it is not the kind of place a window dresser would re-create on Third Avenue or Wilshire Boulevard. That is to say, it is evocative but not chic. More than that, life *chez* Jewell and Gil Ivy (Lange and Sam Shepard) is not so easily redeemed by prayer and true grit. The Federal government is determined to rationalize agricultural production by forcing small farmers to sell their family plots—a capitalist version, perhaps, of Stalin's policies for the same sector in the 1930s—and the options open to the victims are few. One is the constellation of escape—suicide, alcoholism, private despair; the other is engagement of the political forces shaping the social and personal environment.

Jewell Ivy chooses the latter. While strong, silent Gil is off getting drunk and beating up on the family, she organizes her fellow farmers to fight the Feds' plans for the Corn Belt. When the auctioneer comes to sell the Ivys' machinery, the locals gather around his flatbed and chant, "Don't sell! Don't sell!" Later, a crawl before the credits implies that the Reagan Administration was pressured by such protests to call a moratorium on Federal Farm and Home Administration foreclosures and give family farmers a last chance to hold on to the heartland.

Country was produced by Lange and William D. Wittliff, who got the writing credit, and it was directed by the serious and sensitive Richard Pearce, Peter Davis's cinematographer for the Vietnam documentary *Hearts and Minds*, which won an Oscar back in the days when such things were possible. But it is Lange's willful vision and Shepard's oblique sensibility that are most in evidence on the screen. The trouble is that they seem locked in a struggle with unseen hands working to make *Country* into a television movie of the week, the kind that fictionalizes current problems such as herpes or auto theft. Lange and Shepard may think that integrity and good acting will win the day, but too often they are forced to be bleak and boring just to hold their own against the gods of glamour and glitz. Don't be too hard on them; insofar as the film fails, it is because this couple is just too damn hot, and corny Iowa is not.

Paris, Texas is another country. There's not a farm in sight, or a church, or a place for politics or prayer. But the consequences of those earlier scenarios are clear. The children of Waxahachie, or wherever, have indeed moved to L.A., where (like Robert Benton, I suppose) they sell advertising images and talk about real estate. Those who cannot make it in this new America wander aimlessly in the desert—literally—trying at the same time to remember and forget the past.

Sam Shepard's screenplay for Wim Wenders creates an American nightmare set between anomie and nostalgia, those grim suburbs of the postmodern mind. Shepard is expressionistic, violent, mysterious; Wenders sniffs the tacky trivia, the twisted sexual psychology and the big skies of the Sun Belt like a German Shepard. Their approaches are expressed in the movie's two principals: Harry Dean Stanton, who plays an utter fool for love adrift on the Southwestern sands; and Nastassja Kinski, a sexy cat person holed up in an onanistic emporium in what purports to be Houston but looks much more like Hamburg.

It's not easy to figure out what's going on in Shepard's plays or Wenders's movies: that's both the gimmick and the charm of them. But there is enough mood and mystery here to make up for the lack of a conventional story line. Part of the premise is the tension between two completely dissimilar brothers, which Shepard used in *True West* to illustrate the unfinished American war of gentility against violence, remembrance against forgetting, cities against plains, the present against the past. Stanton is the rugged one in those dualities; his brother, played by Dean Stockwell, the wimpy one.

At some point in this long struggle, Stanton takes his young son away from his brother's home and sets out in search of. . . . But this is not a Leonard Nimoy expedition to an extraterrestrial landing strip or a haunted motel. Father and son are looking for mother, love and connection: that is, the abstractions

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that make German idealism and American expressionism so popular with film buffs and so tedious for audiences.

Paris, Texas has its sentimental moments, but for a while it offers a refreshingly downbeat perspective on a country otherwise caught up in patriotic self-congratulation and stuffed with family values. But even allowing for its Texas scale, too much of that is quite enough. □

Zonker's Reagan

ROBERT GROSSMAN

DOONESBURY DOSSIER: The Reagan Years. *By G.B. Trudeau. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 224 pp. $12.95.*

A few months ago, Tuesday's Science section of *The New York Times* ran an article about the naked mole rat, a species of rodent which creates a beehivelike society, complete with a queen, sexless drones—the works—and is the only mammal known to do so. Until that moment I had never heard of naked mole rats. Imagine my surprise, then, when a day or so later I put on the television to discover a feature about naked mole rats. I suddenly realized I was witnessing the beginning of a naked-mole-rat media blitz. As one of only a handful of American cartoonists who never cashed in on the cat craze I was determined not to miss the mole-rat boat. Never mind that naked mole rats were not cuddly and lovable, I devised some naked-mole-rat cartoons and went looking for a publisher. But I was unable to find one who shared my conviction that the country was soon to be inundated with mole-rat material and that we had all better get in on it. "Two blats don't make a blitz," is the way one man put it, and I guess he was right.

The Doonesbury phenomenon, however, is another matter. G.B. Trudeau's *Doonesbury Dossier: The Reagan Years* is the twenty-ninth Doonesbury book. The comic strip is reappearing in some 800 newspapers after a recess during which Trudeau wrote a couple of screenplays and a Broadway musical. The strip's return is heralded on the cover of *Life*, with eight pages of color inside. Along the way, Trudeau has managed to pick up a Pulitzer Prize or two. His is a success story tailor-made for vengeful ex-wives of more indolent cartoonists.

Of course the worst part is that Trudeau is so good. *The Reagan Years* may be the most entertaining and lucid chronicle of the present era we have. And though it has been put together out of 580-odd daily and Sunday comic strips it reads as smoothly as a novel, and its characters exhibit far greater realism than we have come to expect from the funnies. The book has everything: the Reagan story, to be sure, but also Jane Fonda, the Gang of Four, John DeLorean, the Falklands business, what to eat at a corporate takeover, birdwatching, how foreign correspondents get their laundry done and the only amniocentesis jokes to be encountered anywhere. Trudeau is funny: visitors to a recuperating Henry Kissinger ask, "Did your whole life flash before your eyes?" "No," says Kissinger, "only 1968 to 1975. The historic years." Reagan at a press conference: "I have here a special envelope containing documentation proving that 9 of my last 14 misstatements had a grain of truth to them." Trudeau is consistently able to wring chuckles out of the horrors of our time: "Not a bad piece of programming, Bern," says Mark to Bernie the Genius as the Walden War Games climax on the video screen. "Thanks," says Bernie, "I was up all night getting the little houses to blow down."

Considered for his drawing alone, Trudeau is astonishing. His not-quite-minimalist technique, in which a single drawing is repeated several times with only minor changes, approximates the method and effect of film animation. The eye moves effortlessly from panel to panel—the predominance of the text is never in doubt—and yet the characters one sees are quite lively, rendered in a clean, simple, but agreeably quirky style. The characters one *doesn't* see—ah, how does the man do it?—all the name characters, the Reagans, Kissingers et al., are heard in the strip only off-camera, as it were. Yet they are overwhelmingly *there*. Who needs another ugly caricature of Reagan, Trudeau seems to be saying, and I would be tempted to agree were not my own live-

Robert Grossman's drawings appear regularly in The Nation.

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lihood dependent on the endless elaboration of the convolutions of Presidential chin flab.

Incidentally, Trudeau's trademark—the little blob of black shadow under every eye—seems to have been adopted by Walter Mondale. In the cartoon it makes everybody look happily Doonesburyesque, but it only makes Walter look tired. He should leave it to Trudeau. □

THEATER.

PAUL BERMAN

Rap Master Ronnie
The Mystery of Irma Vep

How many divisions does the pope of Walden Puddle have? Several, political commentators like to say, since when Garry Trudeau draws a line, millions of eyes faithfully follow it to the end, even when the end involves a tour of President Reagan's brain—though in the case of Reagan's brain, sundry newspapers dropped an editorial curtain over the offending comic strip, and the millions must have dwindled. Trudeau is a valuable man, in short, and it's very nice to see him collaborating with Elizabeth Swados on "a partisan revue" at The Village Gate. There are seventeen songs in the revue, each more partisan than the last. "Rap Master Ronnie," the title song, offers a rap routine intended as a "Reagan Campaign Message to Minority Voters," in which the President soullessly recites herky-jerky rhymes over funk rhythms, while Secret Service agents breakdance and chant backups. "Say, we want Ron, the cat's pure sex,/ He's the man who signs your monthly welfare checks." In "The Class of 1984," four revolting yuppies croon, "We're entry-level assholes on the rise" and come out for social Darwinism. A chorus of right-wing ministers sing for intolerance. Another song lampoons the ghoulish Elliott Abrams, officer in charge of making optimistic reports about human rights under fascism. A man and wife sweetly declaim against feminism. "Must I have it all?" she sings. And she mustn't and she won't, we realize, because nearly every song in *Rap Master Ronnie* shows Reaganism kicking social equality, tolerance, broadmindedness and dignity for all, down the stairs and into the ditch, where they are scheduled to remain.

There's a good deal of pathos in *Rap Master Ronnie*. A melancholy marine writes to Brooke Shields from Beirut. A derelict reflects on life on Park Avenue, where he occupies a bench. Pathos is by and large the strongest emotion of the evening, and pathos mixed with Trudeau's satiric geniality can get a little tiresome. I kept wishing Trudeau and Swados would stand up and blast the White House, but good. I wanted to see mudballs; I've wanted, many of us have wanted, to see mudballs all campaign long. I wanted to go on a tour of Reagan's brain. Mario Cuomo pointed the way when he proposed a campaign that would raise questions such as, Why did the President leave his first wife? Why doesn't the President ever see his grandchildren? (Naturally, Cuomo suggested these questions with Ciceronian delicacy by saying they were questions he would *not* raise.) On the level of politics, a barrage of unprincipalia would make an excellently principled point: that Reagan stands for hypocrisy, the hypocrisy of all the right-wing gospelers who, like Senator Roger Jepsen, preach family values while cavorting in whorehouses or, like Senator Paul Laxalt, talk probity while deriving their power from the Las Vegas Mafia. Why shouldn't the President be shown as the scheming hypocrite he is? On the level of theater, a more vicious satire than *Rap Master Ronnie* would at least get us pounding the table. There was vicious satire in the days of Lyndon Johnson. Barbara Garson's *Macbird* was a classic of viciousness. Let the President run into mighty Barbara Garson in a dark alley, and you have the feeling national affairs would be in good hands. But I would be less confident if it were Trudeau and Swados lurking among the trash cans and dim shadows.

The music in *Rap Master Ronnie* accounts for some of the geniality. Swados has a gift for stylistic variety. The songs she has written with Trudeau are disco, calypso, funko, ballado and blueso, and you do get a feeling of musical fluency, which is satisfying. But there's little depth to the score, possibly because of the constant stylistic shifts, nor do the lyrics always work especially well with the music. The performers—there are five, of whom Reathel Bean and Catherine Cox stand out—often have to cram oversize declamations into

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their mouths, as if they were eating giant sandwiches with lots of tomato and onion dribbling out the sides.

But why complain? At least Trudeau and Swados have gone after the Great Communicator. No sign in their revue of that terrible blight creeping across select liberal and left-wing columns recently, which makes otherwise sane individuals think Reagan is indistinguishable from Mondale. The dementia hasn't reached The Village Gate. And at one point during the performance, I did find myself nursing a particularly bitter thought, for which Trudeau and Swados deserve the credit. Those of us who are more or less the same generation as these two artists have spent our adult lives, apart from four dubious years under Jimmy Carter, living under a Republican shadow. Ever since we've been teen-agers we've had to go home and wash whenever the President utters a remark. That's no way to live. How old will we be when things are different? Ready for Social Security? Except there will be no Social Security.

Charles Ludlam's latest production, *The Mystery of Irma Vep*, performed by himself and Everett Quinton at the Ridiculous Theatrical Company, is a gripping Gothic vampire tale. "You know I'm not a superstitious man." "You certainly are not." "And yet . . ." It is also a sendup of gripping vampire tales, with references to *Rebecca*, *Psycho*, *The Mummy*, *Now Voyager*, *The Raven*, H. Rider Haggard's *She* and God knows what else. It also sends up half the clichés in the English language. Ludlam cannot pronounce a syllable without twisting it maliciously. His play is also a tour de force of quick-change character shifts, some of them dazzling, as when two characters performed by himself appear to be arguing, partially concealed behind a door. In brief, there are half a dozen levels in *The Mystery of Irma Vep*, all of them brilliant, none of them deep, and you come to feel you're looking at self-reflecting mirrors, which is funny and fascinating. Funny too is the incidental music by Peter Golub, especially when the Egyptologist arrives in Egypt to study a tomb that later turns out to be the back room of a restaurant. Funnier still are the hideous screams of Ludlam, which make you laugh even before the play begins. A neat trick. A bravura performance. A bargain, even at $20 maximum. □

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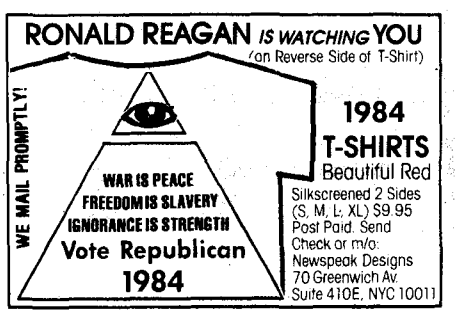

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SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2027

E	X	P	E	R	I	M	E	N	T	■	P	O	R	T
G	■	O	■	O	■	E	■	S	■	N	■	H	■	■
G	L	A	D	D	E	N	■	S	T	O	P	T	H	E
S	■	C	■	I	■	O	■	T	■	U	■	O	■	T
■	S	H	I	N	G	L	E	S	■	T	E	A	C	H
M	■	E	■	■	■	I	■	■	■	H	■	S	■	I
A	N	D	R	E	■	T	R	A	V	E	R	T	I	N
G	■	■	■	V	■	H	■	U	■	R	■	■	■	K
N	A	R	C	I	S	S	U	S	■	N	O	B	L	E
U	■	E	■	N	■	■	■	T	■	■	■	I	■	R
M	U	S	I	C	■	F	I	R	E	D	O	G	S	■
O	■	E	■	I	■	R	■	A	■	O	■	D	■	A
P	E	N	A	N	C	E	■	L	O	I	T	E	R	S
U	■	T	■	G	■	S	■	I	■	N	■	A	■	P
S	A	S	H	■	T	H	E	A	N	G	E	L	U	S

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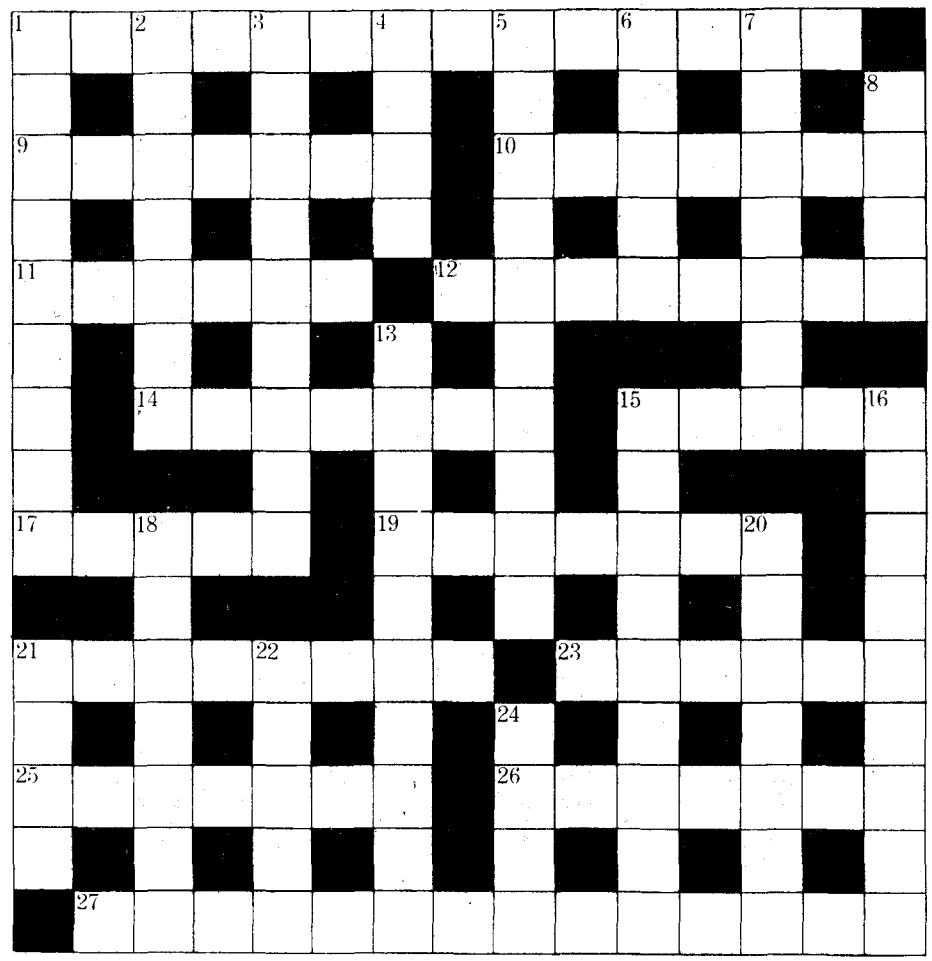
Crossword Puzzle No. 2028

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The reconstruction period of the Italian Bori organization. (14)
9 Unless I made a mistake, the leader of the satyrs. (7)
10 Just think of this as a sort of enigma I unraveled. (7)
11 Make your point before your years cause senility. (6)
12 The judge might declare one to be a vapor to a poor liar. (8)
14 A sort of ape, a sort of wolf and a sort of bird. (7)
15 Such a man to feed, reputedly! (5)
17 Change these, and you might want to change this on your bed. (5)
19 They might be tufted, like real pests on what sang "Willow." (7)
21 The sort of sharp pain Caesar felt? (8)
23 This might take me back to the head man, to show some relief, perhaps. (6)
25 Although there might be no cries from this old sailor, his father was a Red. (7)
26 More like Felix, if slyly malicious. (7)
27 They might have gathered about the knees of Old Timer. (One of them had a holiday on the stage!) (14)

DOWN

1 If they started out quietly, they might be like Washington and Jefferson, but they have to live someplace! (9)
2 Not exactly a hot pill, you might see from this. (7)
3 A rather kindly insect, and gracious. (9)
4 Perhaps a record to listen to in the old days. (4)
5 Try to get around one small vessel with it—but it's not important. (10)
6 Something to drink, or something to eat? (5)
7 There's nothing on the wing, but you might hold one. (7)
8 Tripped over something like Hamlet's Sergeant Death. (4)
13 Sounds like Africa and Asia should be exemplary, when it comes to self-restraint. (10)
15 Mother has very simple surroundings, in a manner of speaking. (9)
16 Comforts—like "for certain" in legal things. (9)
18 Not a lie—not exactly—which should make you happy. (7)
20 If it be one, it's bad for making clarinets! (7)
21 Take off from the outhouse? (4)
22 The sort of training rookies get in computer language? (5)
24 No union connection with one marking a former wound. (4)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

LOCAL ONE AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS UNION LABEL NEW YORK X-523

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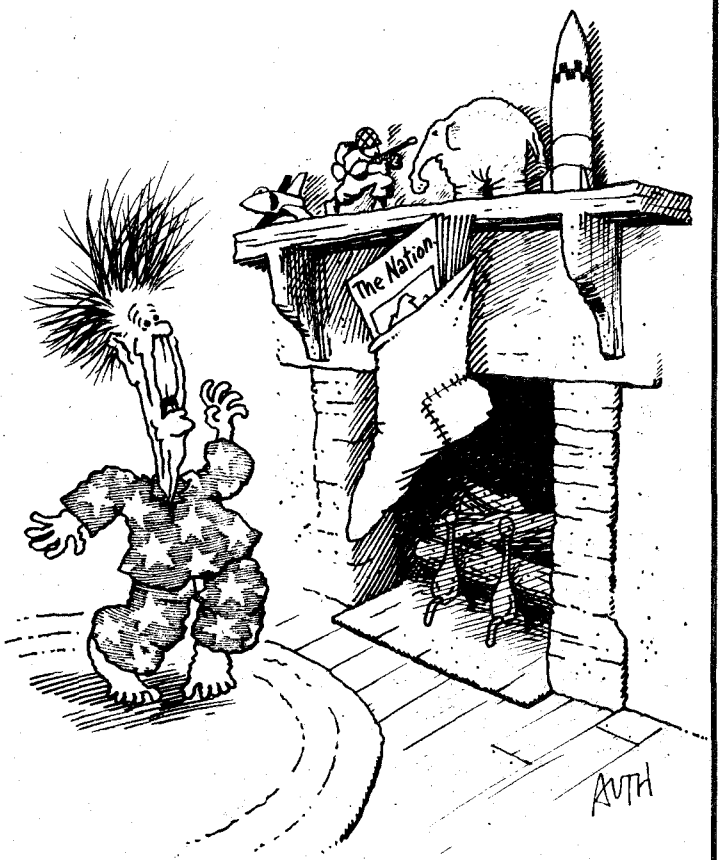

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